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CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

R.N., F.R.S.

"THE CIRCUMNAVIGATOR"

BY ARTHUR KITSON

WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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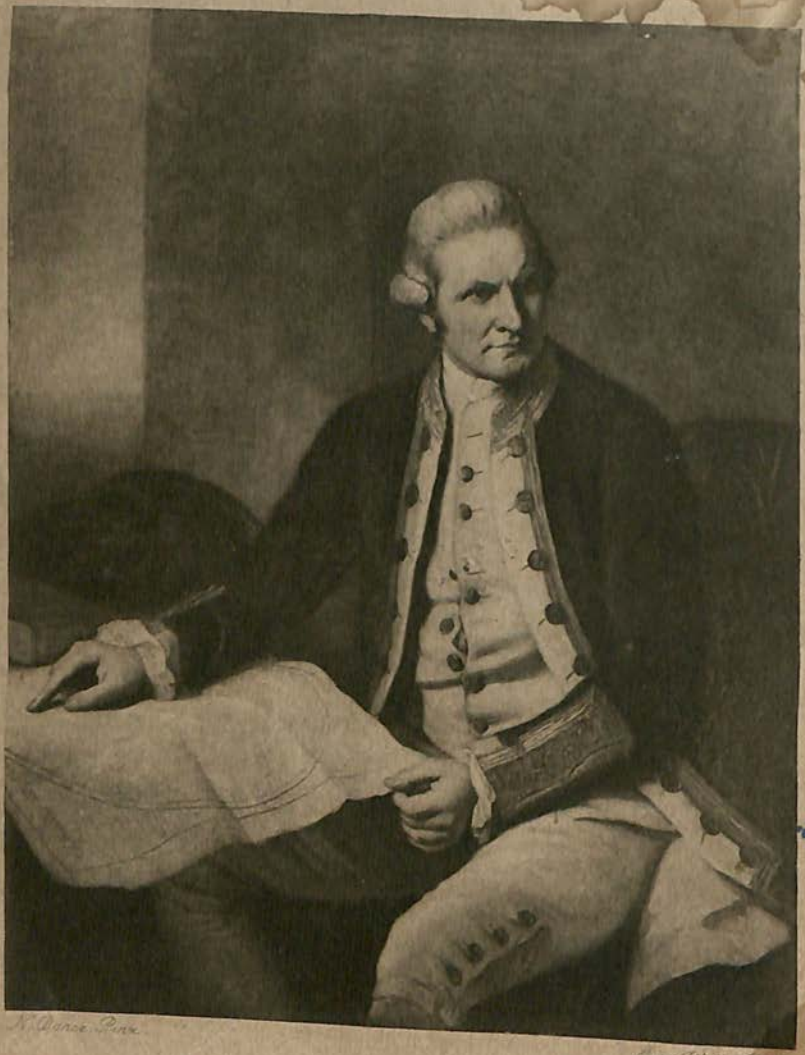

N. Dance Pinx.

Emery Walker Sc.

Captain Cook

TO

MY WIFE

LINDA DOUGLAS KITSON

PREFACE

We used to be taught at school that Captain Cook was born in Yorkshire, rose from cabin-boy in a Whitby collier to the rank of Post Captain in His Majesty's Navy, discovered Australia, sailed three times round the world, and was killed at Owhyhee. Nothing was ever said about the enormous benefit he had conferred on those who go down to the sea in ships, by his successful fight with that dread enemy of the sailor—the scurvy; and not a word of his voyages in the Arctic and Antarctic regions.

With some slight feeling of shame that I was so ignorant about my fellow-countyman, I one day took up Dr Kippis's "Life of Cook" (first published in 1788), and was prompted by curiosity to verify one of his references, which I found to be absolutely incorrect. This excited my interest, and a desire for further information. I consulted every authority I could meet with, and was greatly struck by the fact that the majority of the writers on the subject seem to have been content to rely on Kippis for the foundation of their work.

It appears to me that Kippis had not been sufficiently

careful with his notes, or else had misunderstood much that had been told him, and thus been led into many errors,—more particularly with regard to Cook's earlier life. For instance, it is inconceivable that Sir Hugh Palliser, with his position in the Service, his close professional connection with Cook, lasting for some years, and their personal friendship, could have made the statements attributed to him by the learned Doctor, about Cook's early naval career.

For the voyages, I have found it desirable to avoid the "History" of the First, written by Dr Hawkesworth as it is often unreliable and sometimes ridiculous. For the Second and Third, I have made but little use of Dr Douglas's version, for, though he does not approach the absurdities of Hawkesworth, he has "improved" Cook's manuscript to such an extent in many places that passages are quite irreconcilable with the original. In one case, he quotes the last words written by Cook at some length, but most unfortunately the quotation sprang entirely from his own imagination, and nothing of the kind was written by Cook.

For the facts about Cook's early life, that is, up to the time when he joined the Navy, I have relied on the works of Dr George Young, a former Vicar of Whitby, who knew many people intimately acquainted with Cook in his youth, and who was thoroughly conversant with his early surroundings. Where possible, I have endeavoured to verify his statements, and have not found him at fault till he at length seems to fall under the influence of Kippis.

For the portion of Cook's life extending from his entry into the Royal Navy to his appointment to the command of the *Endeavour*, I have taken as my guide-in-chief the Admiralty Papers in the Public Records Office, which are so complete, that it is not only possible to find the position of his ships day after day, but also the name of every officer and man with whom he served from the hour on which his foot first touched the deck of H.M.S. *Eagle* to the time of his unfortunate death in the Sandwich Islands. These papers seem to have been most curiously overlooked by Cook's biographers, or have only been referred to for the purpose of clearing up some special point.

For the First Voyage, I have consulted the "Log" of the *Endeavour* in the version so admirably edited by the late Admiral Sir J. W. L. Wharton; the "Journal of Sir Joseph Banks," edited by Sir Joseph Hooker; the "Journal of Sydney Parkinson"; Papers belonging to the Royal Society; and other memoranda made by men who took an actual share in the expedition.

For the Second and Third Voyages, I have taken Cook's own manuscripts prepared by him for publication and the continuation by Captain King, comparing them carefully with logs and diaries kept by others who took part in the voyages, some of which have not hitherto been published.

In the course of my enquiries I have naturally had to write many letters to Government officials and private gentlemen, and I desire to acknowledge most gratefully the kindness and courtesy with which I have

been met. I feel it is somewhat invidious to single out any names from those who have displayed interest in the work of a stranger, but it would not be right to omit mention of the sympathy and encouragement I received from the late Admiral Wharton and the late Sir W. Besant, whose own contribution on the subject however cannot be regarded as accurate, and the disinterested assistance of the late Mr G. W. Waddington of Whitby, who lent me books, not procurable at the British Museum, and even when suffering from illness sent me copious notes he had collected whilst making researches concerning Whitby and its environs.

I must also thank Professor G. Carey Foster, F.R.S., who enabled me to consult the Records of the Royal Society; Lord Fitzmaurice, who obtained for me documents from the Shelburne MSS.; the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, who permitted me to see some volumes of Colonial Records which were not available to the public at that time; the Rev. Canon Bennett, who was related to Mrs Cook and knew her personally, for some most interesting letters; Messrs T. Stephenson and R. T. Gaskin, both of Whitby, for valuable notes; and the officials of the British Museum and Public Records Office for their courtesy and attention.

I also desire to record that the late Professor E. E. Morris of Melbourne University kindly gave me some valuable information concerning a log kept by Cook when on board the *Eagle*, which was in his possession.

Those who have had any business relations with

"Mr Murray" will know what I mean when I say that Mr John Murray has personally assisted me in the revision of the proofs, and Mr Hallam Murray has superintended the illustrations; those who have not, will hardly be able to understand how much I feel indebted.

My only regret in parting with what has been a most interesting subject to me, is that the pleasure and duty of placing my work before the public has not fallen into abler and more practised hands than my own.

ARTHUR KITSON.

LONDON, 1907.

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THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN COOK, R.N.

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, R.N., the Circumnavigator, was by birth a Yorkshireman, a native of the district of Cleveland, but of his ancestry there is now very little satisfactory information to be obtained. Nichols, in his "Topographer and Genealogist," suggests that "James Cooke, the celebrated mariner, was probably of common origin with the Stockton Cookes, and might also be one of Edward Cooke's progeny, though it has been alleged his family came from Scotland." Nichols's chief reason for making this suggestion seems to have been the possession by a branch of this Stockton family, of a crayon portrait of some relation which was supposed to resemble the great discoverer in features and expression. He does not attempt to explain the fact that James Cook and all his family invariably spelt their name without the final e, which the Stockton Cookes as invariably use.

The opinion of those of Cook's contemporaries, who had been in actual contact with him or his family, was that his father was either a Northumbrian or a Scotsman, and it would appear most probable that the last is correct. Dr George Young, a former vicar of Whitby,

who published a "Life of Cook" in 1836, went to that place about 1805, and claims to have obtained much information "through intercourse with his relatives, friends, and acquaintances, including one or two surviving school companions." He is undoubtedly the most reliable authority on Cook's early years, if not the only one, and he appears thoroughly satisfied that Cook was of Scotch extraction. Dr George Johnston, usually a most careful writer, states in his book, "The Natural History of the Eastern Borders," that in the year 1692, at the time when the father of James Thompson, the author of "The Seasons," was the minister of Ednam in Roxburghshire, a man named John Cook was one of the elders of the kirk. This John Cook married, on the 19th of January 1693, a woman of the name of Jean Duncan, by whom he had a son, James, baptized on 4th March 1694, and this child, Johnston positively asserts, was afterwards the father of the future Captain James Cook. These entries of the marriage and baptism have been verified by the Rev. John Burleigh, minister of Ednam in the year 1898, and it may be pointed out that the date of the baptism of the child James Cook agrees with the probable date of the birth of Captain Cook's father, for he died on 1st April 1778, in his eighty-fifth year. In the course of time young James left Ednam to "better himself," but owing to the whole of the church records being missing for some years after 1698, Mr Burleigh is unable to trace the time of his departure; he, however, thinks that it is almost certain that young Cook would take away with him a "testificate of church-membership," and, in that case, it is possible, though perhaps not very probable, that such testificate may still exist. The alum trade in North Yorkshire had about this time attracted a number of Scotch people to the district, as may be seen from the names in the registers of the

different parishes, and it seems far from unlikely that the idea of meeting some of his own countrymen would induce young Cook to settle down in that neighbourhood.

Be this as it may, the first positive information to be found is that at Morton, in the parish of Ormsby, where James Cook and his wife Grace (her maiden name has so far escaped identification though she is known to have been a native of Cleveland) resided for some time, and here their eldest child, John, was born, and was baptized on 10th January 1727. Dr Young says that when Mrs Cook of Ednam was saying good-bye to her son, she said: "God send you Grace," and that the son looked upon this speech as prophetic of his marriage. Shortly after the birth of their eldest child, the Cooks left Morton for Marton, a village a few miles away, and the similarity of the two names has caused some slight confusion. At Marton, the father worked for a Mr Mewburn, living in a small two-roomed cottage built of mud, of the kind called in the district a "clay biggin."

This cottage was destroyed about 1786, when Major Rudd erected a mansion near the spot, and afterwards, when this mansion was unfortunately burnt to the ground, the site of the cottage was planted with trees, and was popularly known by the name of "Cook's Garth"; a willow tree was pointed out to Dr Young as occupying the exact spot where the cottage had been. He says:

"The site of the cottage is in the ground behind the hall, and Timothy Lax, an old shoemaker, who died lately, aged eighty, and whose wife's mother, Ann Mainforth, who lived to the age of ninety-six, was present at the Captain's birth, conducted the author to the place where the cottage stood. No vestige of the walls is left."

Sir Walter Besant says that a pump exists near by, which has the reputation of having been made by Cook's father for the purpose of supplying his house with water. Mr Bolckow, the present owner of Marton Hall, writes in a private letter, that

"the cottage was found destroyed when my uncle bought Marton in 1854, but we came across the foundations of it when the grounds were laid out. An old labourer, who died at the age of ninety-three, pointed them out, and my uncle erected a granite vase on the spot. The pump does not exist now, and was altogether apocryphal, having no doubt been put there after Cook's time."

In this humble cottage James Cook, the Circumnavigator, was born on 27th October 1728, and, according to the register of Marton church, was baptized on 3rd November, being entered as "James, ye son of a day labourer." This child proved to be the second of a family of seven whose names were John, James, Mary (1), Jane, Mary (2), William, and Margaret. Besant gives the name of an eighth, Christina, but this seems doubtful.

The Cooks remained in Marton some years, during which time they removed into another cottage, and young James received some instruction from a Mistress Mary Walker, who is said to have taught him his letters and a little reading. Mrs Walker is described by Dr Young and Dr Kippis as the village schoolmistress, but Ord, whom Besant follows, waxes very indignant over this assertion. He says:

"She was the daughter of the wealthiest farmer in the neighbourhood, and wife of William Walker, a respectable yeoman of the first class, residing at Marton Grange." He then goes on to say: "Cook, then a mere lad, tended the stock, took the horses to water, and ran errands for the family, and in return for such

services, the good old lady, finding him an intelligent, active youth, was pleased to teach him his alphabet and reading."

Ord claims to be the great, great, great-grandson of Mrs Walker on his mother's side, but, taking into consideration the amount of work to be done by a child of less than eight years of age, it is to be hoped that his anxiety to defend his ancestress from what he appears to think an insult, has led him to overstate his case. If he has not, James Cook commenced at a very early age to pay dearly for his education. However this may be, the old lady rests in peace in Marton churchyard, where her tombstone records the ripe old age of eighty-nine years.

In 1736 Cook's father was appointed to the position of hind or bailiff by Mr Skottowe, and removed with his family to Airy Holme Farm, near Ayton. Sir W. Besant explains this position as that of a man, who, residing on the farm, was paid a regular wage for carrying on the necessary work, and handed over to the landlord all the proceeds. Young James, who was then eight years old, was sent to a school on the High Green kept by a Mr Pullen, where he was instructed in the arts of writing and arithmetic as far as the first few rules—"reading having apparently been acquired before." For arithmetic, he is said to have exhibited considerable aptitude, and it is believed that Mr Skottowe was induced by the good reports he heard of his progress to pay for his schooling. Dr Young says that his schoolfellows gave him the character of being fond of his own way, and that when any project was on foot for bird's-nesting or other boyish amusement, and discussion arose as to the method to be pursued, he would propound his own plans, and insist on their superiority over the suggestions of others; and should his views not meet with

approbation, he would pertinaciously adhere to them even at the risk of being deserted by his companions.

Chandon and Delandine, in the "Dictionnaire Historique," say that Cook first commenced work in a coal mine, and was soon afterwards pressed into Sir Hugh Palliser's ship; whilst Hennequin, who places Marton in Durham, says that "Sir Thomas Skottowe," after paying for his schooling at Ayton, caused him to be "bound apprentice at the age of thirteen, to a mercer at Staith, near Newcastle, a town celebrated for its coal mines."

Most of the English writers on Cook say that young James was sent to Staithes at the age of thirteen, and bound apprentice to a Mr Saunderson, a grocer and haberdasher; but Mrs Dodds, Mr Saunderson's daughter, told Dr Young that, after leaving school, he remained on the farm, rendering to his father what assistance his strength would permit, till the year 1745, when he was seventeen years of age, and that he then went to Staithes to her father, to whom he was not bound apprentice, but with whom he was placed on trial, "on the footing of a verbal agreement without indentures." He would thus be free to leave or be discharged at any time.

Staithes is a picturesque little village built in a narrow cleft in the cliffs about ten miles from Whitby, whose inhabitants were chiefly occupied in the North Sea fishery, and doubtless also interested in the smuggling at that time so rife all along the southern and eastern coasts of England. Here Cook remained as Saunderson's assistant for about eighteen months, and it may be easily pictured how the growing lad listened with all his ears to the tales of the old sailors, telling of brave deeds and strange experiences in storm and shine on that element which was for so many years to be his home; and at last, perhaps impelled by some instinctive feeling that here lay the path at

his feet to lead him on to future distinction, he vowed to himself that he could not bind down his life to the petty round of a country storekeeper.

The shop and house where he was engaged was situated near the sea, about three hundred yards from the present slipway; in fact, it was so close to the water that, in 1812, it was threatened by the waves, and was pulled down by Mr John Smailey, who had succeeded Mr Saunderson in the business, and the materials were, as far as possible, used for erecting the building in Church Street, which is still in existence, and is pointed out as "Cook's Shop." The original counter was there until 1835, when it was removed to Middlesborough by Mr R. Hutton, a descendant of Mr Smailey.

The late Mr G. W. Waddington of Grosmont, near Whitby, an enthusiastic admirer of Captain Cook, visited Staithes on 2nd September 1887, and found that the site of the original shop was entirely covered by deep water. He was informed by an old man who, as a boy, had assisted to remove the stock from the shop, that, not only were the stones of the house used again in the building in Church Street, but also most of the woodwork and the present door with its iron knocker is the same one at which probably Cook himself had knocked many a time.

Besant suggests, in his "Life of Cook," that perhaps the Saundersons were in some way related to or connected with the Cook family, giving as his reason for the suggestion the fact that there were people of that name living at the time in Ayton. This suggestion may be rejected, for had there been any grounds for making a claim of the kind it is almost certain that Mrs Dodds would not have omitted it when she was giving her recollections to Dr Young, and, had she done so, the latter would have recorded it. Besant then goes on to paint Saunderson's character in colours

of anything but an agreeable hue, as one who was a little too fond of his stick for his apprentices and his grog for himself, and he suggests that all his boys ran away from him but one, and he died of putrid fever contracted by sleeping under the counter. He then proceeds to relate in a most circumstantial manner, how Cook's desire for the sea developed, and how having stolen a shilling from the till, he packed up his luggage in a single pocket handkerchief, ran away to Whitby, found a ship on the point of sailing, jumped on board, offered his services as cabin boy, was at once accepted, showed himself so smart and attentive to his numerous duties that he completely won the heart of the sour-visaged mate, and through his good offices was eventually bound apprentice to the owners of his ship, and thereby laid the foundation-stone of his fortunes. This is a very breezy and life-like description of what might have been, and has, under the sanction of the author's brilliant reputation, been accepted as truth by many readers, but unfortunately is built on a very slight foundation. It is to be regretted that, amongst others, Sir Clements Markham has accepted this story of the stolen shilling.

That there was a difficulty about a shilling seems undoubted, and the two following independent versions of the story will probably put it in its proper light, for Dr Young says, "Saunderson and his family, of whom a son and a daughter, Mr John Saunderson and Mrs Dodds, survived till this history was begun, continued to have a friendly regard for our hero;" and it seems highly improbable that much friendly regard would be felt for a dishonest runaway, that Mr Saunderson would or could have taken a runaway to Whitby to introduce him to the notice of Mr John Walker, or that he would have been received by that gentleman with such favour as it is evident he was.

Mr Wilson of Trinity House, Hull, made personal

enquiries on the spot about this story, and obtained from old residents the local version as follows:

"Cook seeing a new shilling in the till, took it out, replacing it by one of his own. The master missing the bright shilling searched Cook's box and found it there, sent for a constable and for Cook's father, and charged the boy with theft. The boy declared his innocence and explained; the master expressed his regret, and although Cook's father and the master both pressed him to stay, his reply was: 'No, father, I can't. Once a thief always a thief. I must go.' And he then went to Whitby, and was there apprenticed to the sea."

Dr Young relates the affair thus, having obtained his information from people who were in Staithes at the time, and who knew Cook personally. Cook had noticed a South Sea shilling in the till, and probably being struck by its unusual design (it was only coined in the year 1723) changed it for one of his own. Saunderson had also noticed it, and when he missed it he made enquiries about it, perhaps in rather unmeasured terms, but when the matter was explained to him he was perfectly satisfied. Afterwards, seeing that the boy was bent upon a sea life, he obtained the father's permission and took him to Whitby himself and introduced him to Mr John Walker, a member of a coal shipping firm of repute, to whom he was bound apprentice, and with whom he never lost touch till the end of his life.

This apprenticeship to Mr John Walker, and not to the firm as is usually stated, was the first step over the threshold of a new career, a step which was to lead him on to a position in the world's long roll of distinguished mariners, second to none. It was not for a period of seven or nine years, as is almost always said, but, on the authority of Mr Walker's sons, John and Henry, for three years, and the difficulty so many have experienced in understanding how Cook

could have been apprenticed to both Saunderson and Walker is completely set at rest by Mrs Dodds's statement.

Whitby was at that time a very important centre in the coasting trade, and possessed several ship-building yards of good reputation, and it was in a Whitby-built ship, the *Freelove*, that Cook made his first voyage. It has been suggested that the proper name of the ship was the *Truelove*, but there can be no doubt that the *Freelove*, as given by Dr Young, is correct, for Mr G. W. Waddington has discovered, amongst the accounts of the Whitby Poor House for that year, the charges for the supply of oakum to Messrs Walker's ships, and amongst the names is that of the *Freelove*. This ship, a vessel of about 450 tons, some 80 tons larger burthen than the celebrated H.M.S. *Endeavour*, was employed in the coal trade up and down the East coast, and no doubt Cook picked up there many a wrinkle of seamanship and many a lesson of the value of promptitude in the time of danger which were of service to him when he came to the days of independent command; for the North Sea has, from time immemorial, been reckoned a grand school from which to obtain recruits for the Royal Service.

In the intervals between his trips Cook stayed, as was usual in those days, at his employer's house; his time ashore being longer during the winter months as the ships were then generally laid up. The house in Grape Street, at present occupied by Mr Braithwaite, is pointed out as the one where he lived when with Mr Walker; but this appears to be incorrect, for Mr Waddington ascertained from the rate books that Mr Walker's mother was living there at that time, and Mr Walker himself lived in Haggargate from 1734 to 1751, removing thence to the north side of Bakehouse Yard in 1751, and to Grape Street in 1752, after his mother's death. That

is to say, he did not reside in Grape Street till three years after Cook's apprenticeship was at an end, when of course he, following the usual custom, would have to provide himself with lodgings. Dr Young at one time desired to purchase the house in Haggargate from Mr Henry Walker, who had succeeded to it on his father's death, as it was conveniently situated with regard to the Chapel, but his offer was received with the remark: "God forbid that I should sell the inheritance of my fathers."

During these periods of leisure between his voyages, Cook endeavoured to improve his store of knowledge, and it is believed he received some instruction in elementary navigation. He made great friends with Mr Walker's housekeeper, Mary Prowd, from whom he obtained the concession of a table and a light in a quiet corner away from the others, where he might read and write in peace. That he worked hard to advance himself is evident from the fact that Mr Walker pushed him on at every opportunity, and gave him as varied an experience of things nautical as lay in his power, and he was so well satisfied with Cook's capabilities that, had he not left the service of the firm for the Royal Navy, he would have been given the command of one of their best ships. This fact, which is undoubted, would seem to prove that even then he had obtained more than a mere smattering of nautical knowledge.

After several voyages in the *Freelove* (which is stated by the *Yorkshire Gazette* to have been "lost together with one hundred and fifty passengers and the winter's supply of gingerbread for Whitby, off either the French or Dutch coast" one stormy Christmas, the year not being given) Cook was sent to assist in rigging and fitting for sea a vessel called the *Three Brothers*, of some 600 tons, which was still in existence near the close of the last century. After she was completed,

Cook made two or three trips in her with coals, and then she was employed for some months as a transport conveying troops that had been engaged in Flanders, from Middleburg to Dublin and Liverpool. She was paid off by the Government at Deptford in the spring of 1749, and then traded to Norway, during which time Cook completed his time of service as apprentice, that is, in July 1749. Cook related to Forster, the naturalist, on the second voyage to the South Pacific, that on one of his trips to Norway the rigging of the ship was completely covered with birds that had been blown off the land in a heavy gale. Amongst them were several hawks who made the best of their opportunities with the smaller birds.

When his time as apprentice had expired he went before the mast for about three years. In 1750 he was on board the *Maria* of Whitby, owned by a Mr John Wilkinson, and commanded by Mr Gaskin, a relative of the Walkers, and on her was again engaged in the Baltic trade. The following year he was in a Stockton ship, and in 1752 he was appointed mate of Messrs Walker's new vessel, the *Friendship*, on board of which he continued for three years, and of which he would have had the command had he remained longer in the mercantile service. This was rapid promotion for a youth with nothing to back him up but his own exertions, and tends to prove that he had taken full advantage of the opportunities that fell in his way, that he must even then have displayed a power of acquiring knowledge of his profession beyond the average, and that he had gained something more than a smattering of seamanship.

At about the time that James Cook received the appointment as mate, his father appears to have given up his position as bailiff to Mr Skottowe at Airy Holm Farm, and turned his attention to the building trade. A house in Ayton is still pointed out as his work,

but it has apparently been rebuilt, as Dr Young speaks of it as a stone house, and it is now partly brick, but the doorway of stone still remains bearing above it the initials "J. G. C.," for James and Grace Cook, and the date 1755. The old man has almost always been represented as being completely uneducated, but this does not seem to be correct. Colman in his "Random Recollections" writes:

"In the adjacent village to Kirkleatham," Redcar, "there was at this time an individual residing in a neat, comfortable cottage, who excited much interest in the visitors to the Hall. His looks were venerable from his great age, and his deportment was above that which is usually found amongst the lowly inhabitants of a hamlet. How he acquired this air of superiority over his neighbours it is difficult to say, for his origin must have been humble. His eightieth summer had nearly passed away, and only two or three years previously he had learned to read, that he might gratify a parent's pride and love by perusing his son's first voyage round the world. He was the father of Captain Cook! This anecdote was told us on the spot, and I vouch no further for its authenticity, but if it is true, there are few touches of human nature more simply affecting."

From the little that can now be ascertained about this old man, Colman's evident doubts seem to be fully justified, and the superiority of deportment may be put down as the stamp of an amount of education greater than that of his more immediate surroundings. If, as appears to be probable, he was the son of an elder of the Scottish Church it is extremely unlikely that he would be entirely uneducated, and the position he held as hind to Mr Skottowe would point to his being somewhat superior to his fellow-labourers, and would seem to necessitate some slight knowledge, at all events, of keeping farming accounts. But there is direct evidence that the pretty story of learning to

read at an advanced age is untrue, for Mr George Markham Tweddell, of Stokesley, writes in the *Leeds Mercury* of 27th October 1883:

"I may mention that Captain Cook's father was not the illiterate man he has been represented; and I have, lying on my study table as I write, a deed bearing his signature, dated 1755; and the father's signature bears a resemblance to that of his distinguished son."

As writing is invariably learned after the art of reading, it follows that he could not have waited till he was nearly eighty before he acquired the latter accomplishment. In 1755 he was sixty-one.

In addition he claimed to have carved with his own hand the inscription on the family tombstone in Great Ayton churchyard, which runs as follows:

"In Memory of Grace, wife of James Cook, who died February 18th, 1765, aged 63 years."

On the other side of the stone is:—

"To y^e^ Memory of Mary and Mary, Jane and William, daughters and son of James and Grace Cook. Mary di^d^ June 30th 1737, in y^e^ fifth year of her age. Mary di^d^ June 17th 1741, aged 10 months and 6 days; Jane di^d^ May y^e^ 12th 1742 in y^e^ 5th year of her age; William di^d^ Ja^y^ y^e^ 29th 174$\frac{7}{8}$, aged 2 y^rs.^ 12 mo^s.^ 16 da^s.^ and 7 ho^rs.^, and also John their son, dyed Sep^t.^ 20, 1750, aged 23 years."

It is possible that he might have had the letters traced for him on the stone by someone else and then have carved them out, but that seems hardly probable. He spent the last years of his life under the roof of his daughter Margaret, who was married to a fisherman of Redcar named James Fleck, and passed away on 1st April 1778, aged eighty-four years. He was buried in Marske churchyard, but there is nothing to mark his exact resting-place, and its position has long been

forgotten. In the register of deaths he is again described as a day labourer. On the west side of the church at Marske there is a stone erected to the memory of Margaret, wife of James Fleck, who died in 1798 aged twenty-six, and may possibly have been the daughter-in-law of Margaret Fleck, Captain Cook's sister.

In "Notes and Queries" it is recorded that, in 1870, an old agricultural labour, named Tree, was living in East Sussex, who claimed to be, on his mother's side, the grandson of Captain Cook's brother. He declared that his mother, who had married twice, first a man named Ashdown, and afterwards one named Tree, but had been dead many years, bade him always remember that he was the grandnephew of "Captain Cook who sailed round the world." If this be true, but it seems doubtful, Mrs Tree must have been the daughter of John Cook who died in 1750 aged twenty-three, as the only other brother died in infancy.

CHAPTER II

1755-1757—H.M.S. *EAGLE*

NOTWITHSTANDING the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, there were constant troubles occurring between the French and English, in which the American colonies of both nations took a conspicuous part, and which ultimately led to open war. The first shot was fired on 10th June 1755, although war was not formally declared till May 1756. At this time, that is in June 1755, the *Friendship* was in the Thames, and it is said that her mate, James Cook, recognising that he would probably have some trouble in avoiding the "hot press" which had been ordered, decided, after having been in hiding for some little time, to solve the difficulty by volunteering into His Majesty's Service. There does not appear to be any reason to think that this is really the fact, and Mr Samwell, who was surgeon on Cook's third voyage of discovery, paid a visit to Whitby, on his return, and records that the Walkers had offered to make Cook master of one of their ships before he left Whitby for London on his last trip in their service—but the offer was declined. Cook had seen his chance and was determined to take it. He knew that experienced seamen were difficult to obtain, that men of a certain amount of nautical knowledge and of good character could soon raise themselves above the rank of ordinary seamen; he had doubtless seen cases of men who had entered as A.B. finding their way to the quarter-deck; and he was certain that he had only to ask the

Walkers for letters of recommendation for them to be at his service. It must be remembered that the act of leaving employment which, to many men of his position, would have seemed most satisfactory, was not the act of hot-headed youth, no step taken in the spirit of adventure, but the act of a man of twenty-seven years of age and some eight or nine years' experience of the rough, as well as smooth, side of maritime life.

The letters written by Cook to the Walkers, of which there appear to have been several, one or two relating to a later period having been seen by Dr Young, fell into the hands of a niece, who, unfortunately, did not recognise their value, and destroyed them shortly before her death, which occurred some years ago. However, it is known that about this time Cook wrote to them and evidently received a favourable reply, for he shortly afterwards wrote again thanking them for the letter, gratefully acknowledging the service it had been to him; and it is possible to form an idea of what the correspondence was from the Public Records, which will be quoted in due course.

Having made up his mind how to proceed, Cook went to a rendezvous at Wapping and volunteered into H.M.S. *Eagle*, a fourth-rate 60-gun ship, with a complement of 400 men and 56 marines, commanded by Captain Joseph Hamer, and at that time moored in Portsmouth Harbour. On the Muster Roll, preserved in the Records Office, and duly signed by Joseph Hamer, the captain, Robert Hayes, the purser, Thomas Bisset, the master, and James Mayer, the boatswain, the following entry occurs: "161. from London Rendezvous, James Cook, rating, A.B., date of entry, June 17th, 1755, first appearance, June 25th, 1755."

On 24th July, that is, thirty-seven days after the date of his entry into the Navy, he is rated as master's mate, a position which he held till the 30th June 1757, the date on which he quitted H.M.S. *Eagle*.

His appointment was of course facilitated by the great difficulty experienced in obtaining men for service in the Navy, as may be gathered from some of Captain Hamer's letters:

"The Rendezvous, which I appointed, by their Lordships directions in town, having procured me very few men and those only landsmen, and His Majesty's Ship under my command being very near ready to sail to Spithead, and the twenty pounds advance to my Lieutenant almost expended, I beg their Lordships orders for breaking up the Rendezvous, that the Lieutenant and Petty Officers may repair to their duty on board."

In another letter he complains of the quality of the men he has received, and states that he is one hundred and forty short of his complement. On 9th September he writes:

"I do not believe there is a worse man'd ship in the Navy. Yesterday I received from the *Bristol* twenty-five supernumerarys belonging to different ships, but not one seaman among them; but, on the contrary, all very indifferent Landsmen."

These complaints are fully borne out by Captain Palliser, who, in a letter to the Secretary to the Admiralty, dated 7th November 1755, says that some of the crew had been turned over from ship to ship so often that he is quite unable to make out which was their original one,

"they being such that none chose to own them. Of forty-four said to belong to the *Ramilies*, she wanted only six the other day, but her boatswain could find out only three amongst them that he thought worth having."

In the face of these deficiencies in both quantity and quality of men, and in view of the strong letter of recommendation from Messrs Walker which, there is

no doubt, Cook applied for and received, there need be no surprise that Cook was, it may be said, from the very beginning of his service, promoted above the rank of A.B., for he most certainly was Master's mate when he first sailed from an English port on board a man-of-war, as the ship's records most distinctly show.

It is usual to look upon James Cook as an explorer and surveyor only, during his life in the Royal Navy, and any further service is entirely overlooked; but on enquiry it is plainly to be seen that he played a very active part in some of the most stirring events of the next few years, and, though the records of his personal deeds are not to be obtained, the proceedings of the ships on which he served must be full of interest, for, from his character, it is certain he would do his full share of the work to be done, and many of the officers under whose command he afterwards was, have had their names handed down by history as assistants in the grand task of constructing the present British Empire. With some of these men he was, in the course of his career, brought into immediate personal contact, and it is evident that in all cases he obtained their respect and in some their close personal friendship.

On 1st July Captain Hamer was ordered to fit and provision for a voyage to the Leeward Islands, but having received 62 men and 53 marines, he was ordered to sail at once with what crew he had on board, and to cruise between Scilly and Cape Clear. Accordingly he left on the 4th August with James Cook, a master's mate of eleven days standing on board. On the 6th Hamer received orders to place himself under the command of Admiral Hawke, and to continue his cruise, but having been caught in a gale off the Old Head of Kinsale, in which the ship received some damage, including the reported springing of the main mast, he judged it advisable to return

to Plymouth for survey and repairs. On arrival the mast, which was composed of four pieces, was found to be quite sound, and the Lords of the Admiralty, who were greatly annoyed at his leaving his cruising-ground, ordered him off to sea again "without the loss of a moment of time."

Unfortunately, fully expecting that his mast would have to be taken out, Captain Hamer had determined to seize what he thought was a favourable opportunity to clean and scrape the bottom of his ship, as she was very foul, not having been touched for some months; and had ordered her to be lightened for the purpose. This second delay so exasperated the Lords that they ordered Captain Palliser, who had just returned from America in the *Sea Horse*, to take over the command and prepare for sea without further loss of time. This he did on 1st October, and on the 7th the *Eagle* left Plymouth for Ushant under sealed orders from Rear-Admiral West.

On the 18th October they sighted and chased a French ship, but, unfortunately, their main-topmast went by the board, doing considerable damage to the rigging, and the chase got away. Repairs were rapidly executed, and the *Eagle* fell in with H.M.S. *Monmouth* the same night, and next morning again picked up the Frenchman, which was soon captured by the *Monmouth*. The *Eagle* then continued her cruise, and after making three or four small captures returned to Plymouth on 22nd November, and remained in harbour till 13th March 1756. During this stay in harbour Cook had a short spell of sickness, but it can hardly have been very serious, for by the ship's muster rolls he was discharged into hospital on 7th February, and was again returned as back to his duties as Master's mate on the 17th.

The *Eagle* appears to have been kept fairly well employed; she was, together with H.M.S. *Antelope*,

watching a French Squadron in Cherbourg Harbour, and early in April was with Admiral Holbourne's fleet. The *Eagle's* log states, under date 15th April, when "off the Isle of Bass, brought to and sent on board the cutter a petty officer and five men with arms, provisions, etc."

The cutter was one of two hired vessels which had joined the squadron the previous day under the convoy of H.M.S. *Falmouth*, and James Cook was the petty officer, for the muster rolls return him as present on 14th April and absent on the 21st and 28th, and over the last two dates is written "Lent 15." On 7th May he is returned as present, and over that date is written "3 ret^d.^" On the muster sheets of the *St Albans*, in a "List of Supernumeraries borne for victuals only by order of Rear-Admiral West," are the names of the following, entered under the date 28th April 1756: "From H.M.S. *Eagle*, And^w.^ Culford, John Hignett, Thos. Rennison, James Cook, Thos. Charters. D. May 2nd to *Eagle*." On 27th April the *St Albans* was in Plymouth Sound, off Drake's Island, fitting for sea, and she joined Admiral Boscawen's fleet, off Ushant, on 2nd May. There is no record of the reason for sending these men away in the cutter to Plymouth, but it may be presumed that it was a precautionary measure against privateers, who were at that time very active in the Channel.

On 4th June the *Eagle* returned to Plymouth, and in reporting his arrival to Mr Cleveland, the Secretary to the Admiralty, Palliser wrote that he had

"put ashore to the hospital, 130 sick men, most of which are extremely ill: buried in the last month twenty-two. The surgeon and four men died yesterday and the surgeon's two mates are extremely ill: have thirty-five men absent in prizes and thirty-five short of complement, so that we are now in a very weak condition."

He attributes the very great amount of sickness and mortality to the absolute want of proper clothing, many of the men having come on board with only the clothes they had on, and some of them even in rags, and he applied for permission from the Admiralty to serve out an extra supply of "slops," which was at once granted.

After another short cruise the *Eagle* again was in Plymouth in July, and on the 10th Palliser, who was suffering from fever, applied for sick leave, which was granted, and Captain Proby was ordered to take over the ship, but he was detained in the Downs by adverse winds and unable to join, so on 2nd August Palliser, on hearing a report that a French Squadron had been seen in the Channel, shook off his fever and resumed the command of his ship, which was nearly ready for sea. The report originated with the master of a Swedish trader, who, under examination, swore that he had seen nine ships off the Isle of Wight, flying a white flag, all large, and he estimated two to be 90 gun-ships. He stated that he was boarded by a boat from one that he believed to be the flagship, and that after the boarding officer had returned to his ship, a gun was fired, and the whole squadron made sail. Very careful enquiry was made, and the portion of the Channel mentioned by the Swede was thoroughly searched, but no signs or tidings could be found of any French men-of-war having been in the neighbourhood, and the Swede paid the penalty of what seemed to be only an exercise of his imagination, by suffering a detention of some months in Portsmouth.

On 19th November the crew of the *Eagle* was increased from 400 to 420 men, and she was kept cruising about the Channel during the winter. On 4th January 1757, when off the Isle of Wight, she was caught in a very heavy gale, and almost the whole of her sails were blown out of her. On 25th May she sailed in company of H.M.S. *Medway* from Plymouth

Sound, falling in, a day or two afterwards, with what appears to have been Cook's first experience of an action of importance. On 30th May the two ships sighted and chased a French ship, which proved to be an East Indiaman, the *Duc d'Aquitaine*, of 50 guns, in rather heavy weather; the *Medway* was leading. Palliser took the precaution to clear for action during the chase; but the *Medway* did not, with the result that, when within striking distance, she had to bring to in order to do so, thus giving the *Eagle* her chance, which was not neglected; and after a hard set-to the enemy struck to the latter vessel. The following is an extract from the *Eagle's* log concerning the event:

"Saw a sail to ye N^r^ Ward: D^d^ Give Chase as Did: The *Midway*: Att half-past 3: A.M.: The chase hoisted French colours. The Chase being about 2: Miles a head of us. The *Midway*: being about half-gunshott of ye Chase: Then y^e^ *Midway*: brought to: And spoke to us: we continued ye Chase: And give her: a broadside: which She Returned: We Engaied About 3: quarters of an hour: Within point Blank. She Then Struck. The *Midway*: Then Coming Up: From a Stern: Emp^d^ Getting ye Prissiners on board us: and securing our Masts and Rig: We killed her: 50 men: and wounded her: 30: She killed us: 10: Men: and wounded us: 80:"

That the Frenchmen made a determined resistance may be gathered from Palliser's return of damages to his ship, sent to the Admiralty.

"Twenty shot holes through her sides. Three lower deck ports shot away. A knee shot through and several timberheads shot away. The bowsprit much wounded. The foremast, a shot through the middle of it and wounded in another place. Two anchor-stocks shot away. Several shots and bars of iron sticking in the main and mizzen masts, and several bars of iron sticking in the sides and yards. The spritsail yard, two topsail yards, main yard, main topsail yard

and mizen yard all wounded. The fore and main topmasts shattered, forestay, five foremast shrouds, three backstays, fore topmast stay, two mizen shrouds, topsail sheets, ties, halyards, and almost all the running rigging shot away. Sails rent almost to rags."

Captain Proby, of the *Medway*, who was Palliser's senior, says, that not having cleared for action, he was unable to open his lee ports, and so desired the *Eagle* to go on and attack the enemy on the lee bow, and he would follow up with a second attack on the lee quarter. When he had cleared, he wished Palliser to shorten sail so that he might bring the French to action, but that officer, he thought, did not understand him and proceeded to engage, and the *Medway* was only able to fire a few raking shots. The only damage the latter suffered was caused by an accidental explosion of gunpowder which injured ten men. The masts and sails of the prize were so much damaged that she lost them all in the night; one mast in its fall sinking the *Medway's* cutter. It was found that the *Duc d'Aquitaine* carried a crew of 493 men, and had landed her cargo at Lisbon, and was then ordered to cruise for fourteen days to keep a look-out for an English convoy, sailing under the charge of H.M.S. *Mermaid*. She had succeeded in picking up one English brig, which was ransomed for £200. The task of getting the prisoners on board the two ships was rendered so difficult by the roughness of the sea that it was not completed till the second day, when the *Eagle*, accompanied by the *Medway* with the dismasted prize in tow, returned to Plymouth to be refitted, and remained there till 12th July. The Lords of the Admiralty directed "that Captain Palliser should be informed that their Lordships were highly pleased with his success and gallant conduct on this occasion, and ordered the *Eagle* to be refitted at Plymouth." The prize was surveyed and purchased for the Navy, fitted

for sea as a third-rate of 64 guns, with a complement of 500 men, and was entered in the Navy List under her original name.

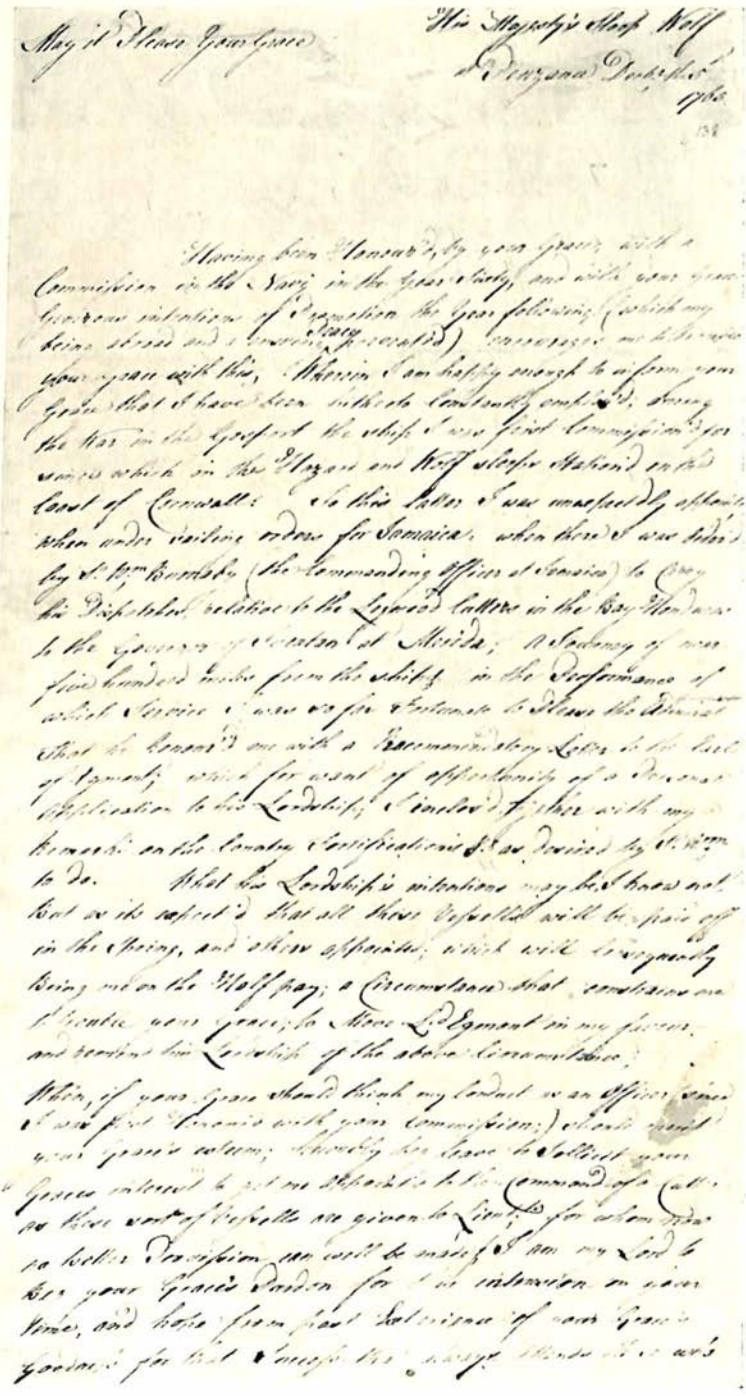
Dr Kippis states that Sir Hugh Palliser informed him that he had received a letter from Mr Osbaldiston, M.P. for Scarborough, written at the request of Mr Walker of Whitby, on the subject of promotion for Cook. The regulation at that time in force rendered it necessary for candidates for lieutenants' commissions to have been employed on board a king's ship for a period of not less than six years, and an order had lately been issued that this rule was to be strictly enforced. Palliser, therefore, wrote in reply that Cook "had been too short a time in the service for a commission, but that a master's warrant might be given him, by which he would be raised to a station that he was well qualified to discharge with ability and credit." It is probable that the letter to which Dr Kippis refers was received about this time, for on 27th June, James Cook attended his last muster on board H.M.S. *Eagle*, and on the 30th he was discharged from the books. The muster rolls of the succeeding dates return him as, "D 30th June 1757. *Solebay* prefrmnt."

A search at Trinity House and at the Public Records Office fails to discover the date of his first Master's warrant, but he is entered on the roll of the *Solebay* as Master, making his first appearance on 30th July 1757. He had risen to his present rank in the short period of two years from his first entry into His Majesty's Service; a very conclusive proof of his talent and his educational attainments.

All writers on the subject of Cook's career have fallen into an error with regard to the name of the ship to which he was first appointed as Master, and also as to the date of that appointment. Every one, with the single exception of Lord Brougham, who places him on H.M.S. *Mersey* (which may easily be

a slip of the pen) put him down as Master of H.M.S. *Mercury*, and state that he joined Admiral Saunders' fleet in that ship in the Gulf of St Lawrence at the time of the capture of Quebec. From the Public Records it is ascertained that the *Mercury* was not in the Gulf of St Lawrence with Admiral Saunders, but was sent in the latter half of 1759 to New York, and thence to Boston, and was at Spithead on 11th April 1760. It is also ascertained from the same source that Cook not only was never on board the *Mercury* in any capacity, but very probably also never even saw her. He is also said to have been Master's mate on the *Pembroke*; and Dr Kippis relates that he was appointed to three ships in three days. First, the *Grampus*, but she sailed before Cook could join her. Next, the *Garland*, but she had a Master when Cook joined. Lastly, the *Mercury*—all this in three days in 1759.

The explanation of this error as far as the *Mercury* is concerned is that there was a second James Cook in the service, who was appointed master of the *Mercury* under a warrant dated 15th May 1759, and entered on his duties immediately. He was with his ship at Sheerness on 12th July, at which time his namesake was with Saunders before Quebec. The *Mercury* returned with her master from New York and Boston, and for some time he was reported "sick on shore"; and on 11th June 1760 was superseded by John Emerton. Soon after this he was appointed third lieutenant of the *Gosport*, his commission bearing date 1st April 1760, that is, before he had left the *Mercury*. He was with the *Gosport* in Newfoundland in 1762 at the recapture of St John's, when his ship was commanded by Captain Jervis, afterwards Lord St Vincent, and it is quite possible that the two namesakes may have met at this time. In 1765 he was on board the *Wolf* on the Jamaica station, and was selected by



LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT JAMES COOK,
(Formerly Master of H.M.S. *Mercury*) to the DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Now in the British Museum.

[*To face p.* 27.

who have been to very enough to be Honoured with your Grace Patronage, Being with much Gratitude

Your Grace's

Much Oblig'd & Most Obedient

Humble Servant at Command

Jas Cook

Penzance Dec. 5th 1765

Lieut. Cooke

(to have the Command of a Cutter)

Rx 10 lb

Admiral Burnaby to carry despatches to the Governor of Yucatan. This duty he successfully carried out, and in 1796 published a pamphlet describing his adventures during that journey. On his return to England from the West Indies he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle asking for the command of a sloop; the letter is in the British Museum, having been included in a collection as one written by his celebrated namesake.

In 1773 he was lieutenant on H.M.S. *Speedwell*, and on 2nd August he applied for a month's leave of absence on urgent private affairs, as he had come into some property in the island of Jersey. Leave was granted. He never rose above the rank of lieutenant, and his name disappears from the Navy List after July 1800.

EXTRACTS FROM PAYSHEETS H.M.S. *EAGLE*.

	Number.	Entry and Year.	Appearance.	Whence and whether Prest or not.	Man's name.	Quality.	D. D.D. or R.	Whither or what reason.	Two mos. Advance and two mos. in six.	Chest.	Hospital.	Full Wages.	Neat Wages.	Paid.
									£ s. D.			£ s. D.	£ s. D.	
1755	161	17th June 1755	25th June	London Rendezvous	James Cook	A.B. to 24th July then Master's Mate			4 12 8	7.0	3.6	15 6 8	10 3 6	Ended Wages, 31st Dec. '55.
Jan. 1st. 1756	161	17th June 1755	25th June	London Rendezvous	James Cook	Master's Mate	D. 7th Feb. 1756	Hospital 486		1.3	.3	3 4 10	3 2 4	March 31st 1760, to Alex. Chorley.
1756	486	17th Feb. 1756	17th Feb.	161	James Cook	Master's Mate				4.9	2.5	11 10 7	11 3 5	March 31st, to A. Chorley.
1757	486	17th Feb. 1756	17th Feb.	161	James Cook	Master's Mate	D. 30th June 1757	*Solebay* pfmt.		13.6	6.6	31 5 6	30 6 0	Jan. 16th '63.

CHAPTER III

1757-1759—H.M.S. *PEMBROKE*

On 30th July 1757 Cook joined H.M.S. *Solebay*, which was stationed at Leith at the time, but his stay was very short, for after a cruise of a few days she returned to Leith, and on 17th September James Cook was superseded by John Nichols as Master; his time on board being so limited that his signature is not appended to any of the rolls.

On 28th April 1757, Mr Bisset, the Master of H.M.S. *Eagle*, was appointed Master of H.M.S. *Pembroke*, a new ship, and superintended her fitting for sea; and on 26th October, he was transferred to the *Stirling Castle*, and it seems reasonable to assume that he would inform Cook, of whose qualifications he was naturally well aware, of the opportunity, and say a word in support of him as his successor. At any rate, the muster rolls of the *Pembroke* show that, in less than six weeks from the date of his leaving the *Solebay*, Cook was established on board the *Pembroke* as Master, under a warrant bearing date 18th October 1757, and entered upon his duties on 27th October, the twenty-ninth anniversary of his birth; and from that date, to his discharge to H.M.S. *Northumberland*, he signed the usual documents. At the time of his joining, the *Pembroke* was fitting and victualling for a cruise, at Portsmouth, and sailed for the Channel and Bay of

Biscay, under the command of Captain Simcoe, on 8th November, returning to Plymouth on 9th February 1758.

The English Cabinet had determined to renew their attempts on the French colonies in North America with greater vigour, and to that end had instructed Admiral Holbourne, and Lord Loudoun, the commander of the land forces in America, to attempt the capture of Louisburg in 1757, but, after inspecting the place, they decided that, owing to its great strength and the lateness of the season, it was inadvisable to make any attack. This place from its position commanded the entrance to the St Lawrence River, and was looked upon by the French as second only to Quebec in importance for keeping the colony of New France safe from the clutches of the English, and as a centre from which the conquest of Nova Scotia, and ultimately the whole of the British possessions in America, was to be attempted. It was situated on a promontory at the north-east of the Island of Cape Breton, and had been occupied for some twenty years by the French, who had spent during that time about a million and a quarter on its fortification, and was looked upon by its owners as being almost impregnable. Except in very severe winters, its waters were free from ice, and from its sheltered harbour privateers constantly issued to prey on and almost destroy the coasting trade of the English colonies; even on occasion venturing to attack the larger craft engaged in trade with Great Britain. In the year 1745, the English colonists had suffered so much from the depredations of these hornets of the sea, that they determined to attack the place, and having obtained the assistance of a fleet under Admiral Warren, they despatched a force commanded by Mr Pepperell, a New England colonel of militia, captured it, and partially destroyed the fortifications. At the treaty of Aix-le-Chapelle in 1748, it was again restored

to France, and again became a thorn in the side of British America.

Early in the year 1758, Admiral Boscawen, known to his men as "Wry-necked-Dick," from a peculiar carriage of the head (said to have been caused by constantly, when a boy, imitating an old servant of his father), and more affectionately as "Old Dreadought," was despatched with a fleet and a small army under Major-General Amherst, to recapture Louisburg. He sailed from Plymouth with 8 sail of the line, one of which was the *Pembroke*, 3 frigates, 2 fire ships, and 2 transports; General Amherst followed in the *Dublin*, which had been ordered to replace the *Invincible*; the latter having gone ashore on the Dean Sands, and become a total wreck. The orders were to rendezvous at Halifax, where they were to pick up other men-o'-war and transports. Sailing *vid* Madeira and the Bermudas, they arrived at Halifax on 8th May, and on 28th May, having completed his arrangements, Boscawen left for Louisburg with 17 sail of the Royal Navy and 127 transports, as stated in his Journal. Off Cape Sambro' he was joined by H.M.S. *Hawk* and 8 more transports, and half an hour later by the *Dublin*. As the crew of the latter vessel were suffering severely from sickness, General Amherst boarded the flagship, and the *Dublin* went to Halifax to recuperate. Two more vessels came up a few hours later, bringing up the total of Boscawen's fleet to 155. He had left behind in Halifax, owing to the great amount of sickness on board, the *Amelia*, the *Burford*, the *Prince of Orange*, and the *Pembroke* (the last had lost 29 men on the voyage across the Atlantic), with orders to rejoin as soon as possible. The *Pembroke* was sufficiently healthy to leave on 7th June with a convoy of 3 transports, 2 schooners, and a cattle-sloop, and arrived at Louisburg on the 12th, too late to take part in the landing

which had, in the face of great difficulties, caused by the opposition offered by the enemy, the rocky nature of the shore and roughness of the sea, taken place on the 8th. The losses on that occasion were 3 officers and 49 men killed, and 5 officers and 59 men wounded, belonging to the army, and 11 men killed and 4 officers and 29 men wounded belonging to the Navy, and 19 men wounded of the transport service. General James Wolfe, who commanded a brigade during the siege, says: "Our landing was next to miraculous." So bad was the weather that neither stores nor artillery could be landed for several days, the first gun being got ashore on the 16th, so Cook was in good time to take his share of the difficulties of disembarking supplies, a task so full of danger that the fleet lost no less than one hundred boats in this duty alone. As well as affording a base to the attacking force the fleet provided a body of 444 seamen to act as gunners, and 139 men, who had either been brought up as miners, or who volunteered, were employed as engineers, constructing trenches, batteries, and such necessary siege works; but none of these were from the *Pembroke*.

Owing to the excessively swampy nature of a portion of the ground to be covered by the attack, great difficulty was encountered in constructing the approaches, and it was not till 20th June that the first gun opened fire, under the superintendence of Wolfe, on whose shoulders the major part of the direction of the siege seems to have fallen. In addition to powerful batteries on the islands at the entrance of the harbour, the French had sunk 4 ships as a further protection, and on the citadel and its outworks had mounted 419 guns and 17 mortars. They had also in the harbour, at the time of the arrival of the British fleet, 9 men-of-war, one of which, however, escaped the very day of the landing. She was afterwards followed by two more, one of which escaped, and

though chased for some distance made good its way to L'Orient with the first news of the siege; the other named *L'Echo* was captured by Sir Charles Hardy and taken into the English Navy. A fifth ship was added to those sunk for the protection of the entrance to the harbour, and one was blown up by an English shell, setting fire to and destroying two others that lay alongside her. Of the fate of the other two the log of the *Pembroke* kept by Cook tells:

"In the night 50 boats man'd and arm'd row'd into the harbour under the command of the Captains La Foure" (Laforey) of the *Hunter*, "and Balfour," of the *Etna*, "in order to cut away the 2 men-of-warr and tow them into the N. E. Harbour one wh^ch they did viz.: the *Ben Fison*" (*Bienfaisant*) "of 64 guns, the *Prudon*" (*Prudent*) "74 guns being aground was set on fire. At 11 A.M. the firing ceased on both sides."

The boats concerned in this attack, which the Admiral in his despatch describes as "a very brilliant affair, well carried out," were a barge and pinnace or cutter from each of the men-of-war, excepting the *Northumberland*, which had too many sick on board, commanded by a lieutenant, mate, or midshipman, and Dr James Grahame, in his "History of the United States of North America," says:

"The renowned Captain Cook, then serving as a petty officer, on board of a British ship-of-war, co-operated in this exploit, and wrote an account of it to a friend in England. That he had distinguished himself may be inferred from his promotion to the rank of lieutenant in the Royal Navy, which took place immediately after."

The statement that he was in the affair may be true, but there is no evidence on the point, and as he was at the time not a petty officer but a warrant officer, and as his promotion did not take place for several

years, Dr Grahame's statement does not appear very reliable. The letter he refers to may have been the one which is known to have been written to Mr John Walker from Louisburg, but which was so unfortunately destroyed.

The loss to the British on this occasion was very small, being only 7 killed and 9 wounded. The *Bienfaisant* having been surveyed and reported in good condition, was received into the Royal Navy, the command being given to Captain Balfour; and *L'Echo* was given to Captain Laforey.

In consequence of this success and the threat of an immediate assault on the town and citadel, the French commander surrendered on the following day. The Admiral in his journal says he wrote to

"Mon$^{sr.}$ de Drucour, the Governor of Louisburg, directing him to surrender at discretion, acquainting him that he would this night be attacked by sea and land. I went on shore and communicated this letter to Major-General Amherst, who approved of it, and was sealing the said letter when a letter was brought to us from Mon$^{sr.}$ le Che$^{vr.}$ de Drucour offering to capitulate, and this day articles of capitulation were agreed to."

This success was so highly esteemed in England that Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst both received the formal thanks of the Houses of Parliament.

Brigadier-General Wolfe, writing to Lord George Sackville shortly after the siege was concluded, the letter being undated, says:

"The Admiral and the General have carried on public service with great harmony, industry and union. Mr Boscawen has given all and even more than we cou'd ask of him. He has furnish'd arms and ammunition, pioneers, sappers, miners, gunners, carpenters, boats, and, I must confess, is no bad fantassin" (infantry man), "himself, and an excellent back hand at a

siege. Sir Charles Hardy, too, in particular, and all the officers of the Navy in general, have given us their utmost assistance, and with the greatest cheerfulness imaginable. I have often been in pain for Sir Charles's squadron at an anchor off the harbour's mouth. They rid out some very hard gales of wind rather than leave an opening for the French to escape, but notwithstanding the utmost diligence on his side, a frigate found means to get out and is gone to Europe, 'chargé de fanfaronades.' I had the satisfaction of putting 2 or 3 hautvizier shells into her stern and to shatter him a little with some of your Lordship's 24 pound shot, before he retreated, and I much question whether he will hold out the voyage."

The *Pembroke* formed one of this squadron under Sir Charles Hardy.

In an earlier letter to the same person, Wolfe complains of the want of preparedness, so usually the failing of the British nation. He says:

"No nation in the world but this sends soldiers to war without discipline or instruction." Again: "as here are no spare arms, nor no rifled barrell guns, the firelocks of these regiments will be so injured in the course of the siege that I doubt if they will be in any condition of service after it is over. Some of them are already very bad. Some of the regiments of this army have 3 or 400 men eat up with scurvy. There is not an ounce of fresh beef or mutton contracted for, even for the sick and wounded, which besides its inhumanity is both impolitic and absurd. I think our stock of provisions for the siege full little, and none of the medicines for the hospital are arrived. No horse or oxen for the artillery, etc. Our cloathes, our arms, our accoutrements, nay, even our shoes and stockings are all improper for this country. L^d. Howe is so well convinced of it that he has taken away all the men's breeches."

The breeches with the long heavy cloth gaiters buttoned up as high as the middle of the thigh with

a strap beneath the knee would undoubtedly be found to impede very seriously the marching in a rough country totally unprovided with roads, however smart they may have appeared on parade.

After the capitulation of Louisburg, Admiral Sir Charles Hardy was sent with the *Pembroke* and nine other ships, with a small body of troops under Wolfe, to harry the French in the Gulf of St Lawrence preparatory to an attack that it was now intended should be made on Quebec in the following year. Several settlements and magazines were destroyed, four guns and a pair of colours taken in the district of Gaspé Bay, and then the vessels returned, *viâ* Louisburg, to Halifax for the winter.

At the opening of the season Admiral Durrell, who had been sent out post-haste from England to hurry on the preparations, arrived in Halifax, and was shortly afterwards followed by Sir Charles Saunders, the senior officer in North American waters, to whom had been confided the task of conveying Wolfe and his army through the difficult navigation of the River St Lawrence, to within striking distance of the City of Quebec, and when there of supporting him in his attack on that city. Saunders, who as First Lieutenant of the *Centurion* had sailed round the world in 1740 with Anson, is described by Walpole in the "Memoirs of George II." as follows:

"The Admiral was a pattern of the most sturdy bravery, united with the most unaffected modesty. No man said less, or deserved more. Simplicity in his manners, generosity, and good nature adorned his genuine love of his country."

Saunders left Spithead on the 17th February, intending to call in at Louisburg on his way to Halifax, but he was prevented doing so by the ice, for this had proved to be an unusually severe winter. Admiral

Durrell, writing to the Secretary to the Admiralty, says :—

"This winter of 1759 has proved the severest that has been known since the settling of the place. For these two months past I have not heard from Louisburg. Many vessels have attempted to go there, but have met with ice eighteen and twenty leagues from the land ; so were obliged to return, after having had some of their people froze to death, and others frost-bitten to that degree as to lose legs and arms."

On his arrival at Halifax, 30th April, Saunders at once despatched Durrell with a squadron to the St Lawrence to prevent, if possible, the entrance of the French spring fleet of store ships, and to render the strengthening of the already difficult passage, by fortifications on the "Ile aux Coudres," impossible. He left Halifax on 5th May, but met with so much trouble from the ice that he arrived too late, and to his great annoyance found that the French fleet of 18 sail, convoyed by two frigates, had managed to get in. One or two small store ships, however, were captured, which afterwards proved of great service to the British.

On 15th May, the *Pembroke*, which formed one of Durrell's squadron, met with a loss in the death of Captain Simcoe, who was buried at sea on the 17th. Her command was temporarily given to Lieutenant Collins of the Admiral's ship, and then to Captain Wheelock, who remained in her till after Cook left.

The British squadron arrived off the "Ile aux Coudres" on the 25th, and on the 28th the *Pembroke* landed the troops she had on board, "as did ye rest of ye men of warr," and they took possession of the island which had been abandoned by its inhabitants. Here they awaited the arrival of Admiral Saunders and General Wolfe, and employed themselves in obtaining a knowledge of the difficulties of the river. On Cook's

log is the note: "9th June, ye boats of ye fleet engaged sounding ye channel of ye Traverse." And on the 11th: "Retd. satisfied with being aquanted with ye Channel." The Traverse here mentioned is that channel running from a high black-looking cape, known as Cape Torment, across into the south channel, and passing between the eastern end of the "Ile d'Orleans" and "Ile Madame." To this day the Traverse is looked upon as one of the most difficult pieces of navigation in the river.

The soundings taken at this time were apparently for the purpose of checking the charts already in the hands of the English, and to some extent re-establishing the marks that had been removed by the French. This in a strong current like that in the River St Lawrence would be by no means an easy task. It seems certain that the British were supplied with charts, for Smollett relates that "good charts" were captured from the French; and in the *London Magazine* for September 1759, a chart of the St Lawrence was published, drawn by T. Kitchen, having the Traverse shown on a larger scale; the courses taken by the French ships entering and leaving the river are carefully marked, and a considerable number of soundings are given. Boscawen, also, captured a French man-of-war in 1755, and found on board charts and full sailing directions for the St Lawrence, portions of which were translated, and without doubt would be issued to the fleet. In a note to the orders issued by Saunders, on 15th May, to the Masters of Transports, attention is specially called to "a plan or chart showing the route which His Excellency intends to make from Louisburg Harbour to the Island of Bic." This island is about 80 leagues up the river and about 35 below Quebec.

It is no detraction from the fair fame of General Wolfe to note, when reading the accounts of the capture of Quebec, how the historians have neglected to give

credit to Admiral Saunders and his men for the assistance afforded under extremely difficult circumstances, and for the generous support invariably given to the land forces whenever opportunity arose. It is considered by some that Wolfe did not display any very marked military genius in his attacks on the city, but it must not be forgotten that he was hampered by his instructions which led him to expect co-operation from General Amherst, which never came, as that officer had his hands full elsewhere, and the only news of whom, received before the fall of the city, was a request for transports to take prisoners captured at Niagara from New York to England. Wolfe was hampered by the inadequate number and inferior quality of his troops, who were miserably found in supplies, arms, and money. He says himself, after speaking of the large number of sick he had been obliged to leave behind, "there are four new companies of Rangers so bad that I expect no service from them. Three regiments have lost their camp equipage." He requested General Whitmore, the Governor of Louisburg, to give him some seasoned troops from his garrison in exchange for some of the newly raised men, but Whitmore refused on the plea that he could not do it without express orders from General Amherst, orders which he knew were impossible for Wolfe to get in time to be of service; and he also, on the same plea, managed to detain troops which Wolfe had been informed in England would be at his disposal. There seems to have been little love lost between these two, for Wolfe, writing to Lord George Sackville after the siege of Louisburg, says: "Whitmore is a poor, old, sleepy man. Blakeney lost St Phillips by ignorance and dotage. Take more care of Louisburg if you mean to keep it." With regard to his want of money, he writes to the same: "This is one of the first sieges perhaps that ever was undertaken without it."

So pressed was the Army at one time, that a subscription was raised by the officers of both services to meet immediate necessities; the Army subscribed about £2,000, and the Navy, £4,000. He was also hampered by the petty jealousies of some of his subordinates, men who, owing their positions to him, should have given him their unquestioning support. "Junius" charges Townshend with having cast difficulties in the way of many of Wolfe's proposals, and states that he entered a formal protest against the attempt on the Heights of Abraham—but this is denied by Townshend's supporters. Walpole, however, says that General Townshend "and his friends for him, even attempted to ravish the honour of the conquest from Wolfe. Townshend's first letter said nothing in praise of him. In one to the Speaker of the House of Commons, he went so far as indirectly to assume the glory of the last effort." In addition to these troubles, Wolfe suffered from continual bad health, which was, naturally, aggravated by the anxieties and worries that met him at every turn.

Admiral Saunders left Halifax for Louisburg, to gather up the remainder of the forces, and had to remain there till 1st June, as some of the troops had not arrived when he reached the place. He then made sail for the St Lawrence, joining Durrell on the 24th. The next day, leaving the largest ships with Durrell to cover the entrance to the river, he hoisted his flag on the *Stirling Castle*, a ship he had singled out before leaving England for special service in the river, on account of her small draught of water and general handiness, and on board of her as Master was Cook's friend and former superior, Mr Bisset. The boats of the fleet were ordered out to act as sailing marks, and the ascent of the "Traverse" was commenced. Captain Knox, of the 45th Regiment, who was present with his company at the time, says that Durrell had

decoyed some of the river pilots on board by hoisting the French flag when he first entered the St Lawrence, and these were pressed into the English service and placed on board some of the leading ships to help them through the dangerous track. One was on board the transport with Knox, but its Master, Killick, declined his services as he would not trust his ship to the mercy of an enemy, and, sending his Mate to the helm, took charge himself. When remonstrated with and told that no French ship ever presumed to pass there without a pilot, he said: "Aye! Aye! my dear; but damme I'll convince you that an Englishmen shall go where a Frenchman dare not show his nose." He carried his ship through in safety, chatting with the officers on board and chaffing the occupants of the mark boats, telling them to "make a splutter or they would get no credit for it in England." Old Killick, who described the river as no worse than the Thames, deserves to be remembered.

After passing successfully through the Traverse during the 25th and 26th, the fleet anchored off the village of St Laurent some distance up the Ile d'Orleans; and the debarkation of the troops was at once commenced and completed on the following day. On the afternoon of the 28th a very heavy squall struck the fleet, causing several of the transports to part their cables and go ashore, and the long boat of the *Pembroke* was ordered out to assist in getting them afloat again, which was done with the exception of two, afterwards burnt by the enemy.

Thinking to profit by the disorder which must necessarily have been caused by the storm, the French made a very determined attempt to destroy the fleet by means of seven fireships that were to have been carried down by the current into their midst. The boats of the *Pembroke* and other men-of-war were again out, employed in the hazardous task of towing these undesired visitors into such places as would permit

them to burn themselves out without danger to the British shipping. Captain Knox describes the scene as a display of "the grandest fireworks that can possibly be conceived," but, he says, they did no damage, not even causing a scare amongst the young troops who were quite unprepared for such things. It seems, however, that the guns and shells which exploded when the fireships were first ignited, did cause the retirement of a picket on the western point of the Ile d'Orleans, and the officer in command, who appears to have thought he was about to be attacked in force, was to have been tried by court-martial, but being advised to throw himself on Wolfe's mercy he was pardoned for his error. Knox says that the ships burned till five o'clock in the morning. To guard against a repetition of attacks of this nature a system of guard boats was established, moored across the south channel from Point Lévis, and necessarily entailed a great amount of extra work on the sailors.

July 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th were occupied by the *Pembroke* in assisting in the landing of troops, stores, and artillery at Montmorency, where Wolfe was forming a camp from which to attack the French left; his object being to force on a general engagement with General Montcalm, whose army covered the land approaches to the city. On the last mentioned date the bombardment commenced on the city, from a part of the fleet and batteries erected on Point Lévis, named after the French General, Monsieur de Lévis, and now known as Point Lévi; and on Beauport, where Montcalm had concentrated, from the remainder of the fleet in the basin of Quebec and from Montmorency. The bombardment continued with little intermission till 13th September.

On 18th July "two men-of-war," the *Sutherland* and *Squirrel*, "two armed sloops and two transports, with some troops on board, passed by the town without any

loss, and got into the upper river." (Wolfe to Pitt 3rd September.) They were accompanied by the *Diana*, which ran aground and was attacked by the enemy's boats, but was brought off by the *Pembroke* and *Richmond*. She was so seriously damaged that she had to be sent to Boston for repairs.

On the 29th July the French made a second attempt with a fire-raft on the fleet. It was discovered and fired on by the guard, and was ignited and abandoned by those in charge, and though it burnt fiercely it was taken in tow by the English boats and guided ashore to burn out harmlessly.

On 31st July an unsuccessful attempt was made on the French position by the English camped at Montmorency, assisted by others conveyed to the attack by the boats of the fleet. They were supported by the *Pembroke*, *Trent*, and *Richmond*, which were "anchored clear over to the north shore before Beauport, a brisk firing on both sides" (log of the *Pembroke*). The boats unfortunately were thrown into confusion by running into an unsuspected reef of rocks, on which many of them struck; and it is said that the ground from the ford near the mouth of the Montmorency river proved so steep and slippery that it did not afford sufficient foothold for the soldiers, thus adding to the confusion; and it was very soon judged advisable to withdraw. The losses, which were greater than on the Heights of Abraham, are given by Knox as, "killed, wounded, and missing 443 English and near 200 French men and officers." Two "armed cats," which had also been engaged, got aground, and were burnt to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy.

Wolfe, in a strongly worded general order, lays the blame of the repulse on the unfortunate disorder into which the boats were thrown, and on the precipitate action of the Grenadiers, who rushed to the attack

without waiting for their supports to form up. Saunders dismisses the affair very shortly: "The General not thinking it proper to persevere in the attack, part of them re-embarked, and the rest with General Wolfe crossed the falls to our camp." In the *Pembroke's* log Cook says the repulse was solely due to the heavy fire from the entrenchments "which soon oblig'd our Troops to retreat back to the Boats and Montmorency." Montcalm expected that the attack would have been made nearer to the city, as the portion of his position near Montmorency was far stronger, both from his preparations and naturally. It is claimed by some writers that Cook surveyed the shore before the action, but there is no official record of his having done so, and it seems unlikely that, had any survey been made, the reef would have been overlooked. It is also asserted that Cook actually piloted the boats to the attack; this is again unsupported, and he would most probably be fully employed on his own ship, which was covering the boats.

At this time Wolfe's health was very bad, and affairs appear to have moved very slowly. The season during which it was possible for the fleet to remain in the river was rapidly drawing to a close, and though he still hoped to hear that Amherst was making a demonstration in his favour, he felt that he must either retire to winter quarters in Halifax, leaving a force of 3,000 men in a fortified camp on the Ile aux Coudres or try to force an engagement with Montcalm. He determined on the latter course, and prepared to move his forces above Quebec in order to cut off the city from its magazines and ships, which, on the advent of the English, had retired up the river. Admiral Holmes had for some time been stationed above Quebec with a small squadron and some light draught transports, and had made a few short expeditions upwards. He now in company with Wolfe carefully inspected the north shore, for

the purpose of fixing on some spot where a landing might be possible. Whilst these preparations were going on Cook was not left idle. On 13th August he was out renewing the buoy ropes of the moorings of the guard boats off Point Lévis, as the old ones were "broke away. This night a very brisk cannonading against the town." On September he and Bisset, of the *Stirling Castle*, were out laying several buoys, between Montmorency and the mouth of the Charles river, intended to occupy the attention of the enemy whilst the boats of the fleet were engaged in moving the troops and artillery from Montmorency to Point Lévis; a duty which occupied several days. It was probably about this time that Cook had a narrow escape from being captured by the Indians. A small flotilla of canoes dropped quietly down stream on to the party, which only escaped by making a dash for the Ile d'Orleans, where the hospital guard turned out to their assistance and drove off their assailants with loss. So narrow was the escape that, it is stated by Kippis, as Cook jumped ashore from the bows of his boat an Indian boarded her at the stern. Mr Bisset on another occasion was not so fortunate, for whilst sounding in the north channel on 7th July he was taken prisoner, but he either managed to escape or was exchanged a short time afterwards, for his name is only absent from the muster sheet of the *Stirling Castle* for a few days.

Whilst the French in their encampment on the Charles were being amused by apparent preparations for some new move against them, the English army had been quietly collected at Point Lévis, and gradually marched up the river to a convenient spot, where they were embarked on Holmes's squadron, which had been increased to five men-of-war and a considerable number of small vessels and flat-bottomed boats, without having attracted particular attention from the besieged. Some

of the men were on board as early as the 6th September, and the last detachment on the night of the 12th, when Cook was again out with buoys off the mouth of the Charles, where he was interfered with by the French, who were only driven off by a heavy fire from the *Richmond*, on board of which ship was Wolfe.

All preparations were now completed, and Admiral Holmes sailed up the river as if to beat up the French communications, but when night fell he returned, and a landing was successfully accomplished. Admiral Saunders says in his despatch:

"The night of their landing, Admiral Holmes with the ships and troops was about three leagues above the intended landing place. General Wolfe with about half his troops set off in the boats, and dropped down with the tide and were by that means less liable to be discovered by the centinals posted all along the coast. The ships followed them about three-quarters of an hour afterwards, and got to the landing place just at the time that had been concerted to cover their landing, and considering the darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the current, this was a very critical operation, and very properly and successfully conducted."

In the meantime, the ships in the basin, some fifteen in number, under Saunders himself, whose flag was still on the *Stirling Castle*, distracted the attention of the town and citadel by a heavy cannonade. Lieutenant Norman of H.M.S. *Pembroke* has the following entry in his log relating to this night:

"Sept. 13th, 1759. Mod. and cloudy. At 6 P.M. our signal for an officer, unmoored and hove into ½ a cable on the B^st. B^r. at 12 the Rowing boats made a feint below Beauport. At 4 A.M. Genl. Wolfe landed just below Cape Diamond wi^th. the whole army. At 8 the sign^l. of Boats man'd and arm'd to go to Point Levi, weighed and drop't hier up. About 10 the enemy march'd up and attack'd Genl. Wolfe, the action lasted not 10 minutes before the Enemy gave way and run in the Greatest Confusion and left us a compleat

Victuary. Our Army encamped on the plain a back of the Town and made the necessary disposition for carrying on ye siege. Admiral Holmes hoisted his flag on board the *Lowestaff*, just off the Landing place. In this action fell Genl Wolfe, of the enemy Genl Montcalm and his two seconds."

Cook in his log does not mention the death of Wolfe, but says "the troops continued the pursuit to the very gates of the city, afterward they begun to form the necessary dispositions for carrying on the siege."

Cook has been said by several writers to have piloted the troops to the landing-place, and has even been set within hearing of the recitation of "Gray's Elegy" by Wolfe, but as he was out with the ship's boats at the time Holmes started up the river, and was probably on board his own ship with his hands full during the bombardment, these traditions must be put down to imagination.

The City of Quebec surrendered on the day following the defeat of the French on the Heights of Abraham, and was occupied by a force from the fleet under the command of Captain Hugh Palliser, who was appointed temporarily by Sir Charles Saunders.

On 23rd September Cook's connection with H.M.S. *Pembroke* came to an end. Lieutenant King in a letter to Dr Douglas says he does not know the exact date of Cook's appointment to the *Northumberland*, but that he was certainly Master of that ship in 1758. Here King is in error, for Lieutenant James Norman, of the *Pembroke*, has the following entry in his log under date 23rd September 1759: "Mr Cook, Master, superseded and sent on board the *Northumberland*, p^r^ order of Admiral Saunders." This appointment has been put down to Lord Colville, who may have specially applied for him, but of that there is no record; he certainly did not make the appointment.

It may be of interest to know that, had the troops

only been supplied with money, they would have had no difficulty in finding supplies, for Captain Knox gives the following list of prices: Beef 9d. to 1s. per lb.; mutton, 1s. to 1s. 3d.; ham, 9d. to 1s.; salt butter, 8d. to 1s. 3d.; cheese, 10d.; potatoes, 5d. to 10d. per bushel. A reasonable loaf of good soft bread, 6d.; Hyson tea, 30s. per lb.; plain green tea, very bad, 15s.; roll tobacco, 1s. 10d. per lb.; hard soap, 10d. to 1s.; London porter, 1s. per quart; Bristol beer, 18s. per dozen; bad malt drink from Halifax, 9d. per quart. At times, Captain Knox says, the cattle supply ran short and was reserved for the use of the sick and wounded; the soldiers then fell back upon horseflesh, and he remarks that a nice loin of young colt is not to be despised.

M. de Bougainville, whose name was afterwards to be associated with that of Cook as an explorer in the South Pacific, was also engaged at Quebec. He went out to Canada in 1756 as a captain of Dragoons and was appointed aide-de-camp to Montcalm. At the time of the battle on the Heights, he was in command of a detachment at Cape Rouge on the west side of the city, but the action was over before he had time to come up. He was afterwards second in command of the French army in that part of Canada, but on the surrender of the colony returned to France, and distinguished himself on the Rhine in 1761. Two years afterwards, seeing no prospect of further active service on land, he entered the Navy at the age of thirty-four, and in 1766 was placed in command of the expedition to the South Seas.

Eliot Warburton, in "The Conquest of Canada," states that in 1709 the French received information that an Englishman, Colonel Vetch, who had resided several years in Quebec, had sounded all the difficult passages in the St Lawrence, and had instigated Queen Anne to sanction an attack on that city. The force was to con-

sist of twenty ships with 6,000 British troops, supported by 2,000 colonists, who were to attack by way of the great lakes. However, the British force was diverted to Portugal, and the colonials were compelled to retreat owing to sickness and distrust of their Indian allies. He also says that in 1710 a fleet of ten men-of-war and thirty-five transports attempted an attack, but eight vessels being lost in a heavy squall in the "Traverse," the affair proved unsuccessful.

Another attempt was made in 1711 under General Hill, but was driven back after the loss of many soldiers and sailors in the effort to ascend the river.

EXTRACT FROM PAYSHEET OF H.M.S. *PEMBROKE*

RELATING TO MR JAMES COOK, MASTER.

Number.	Entry.	Year.	Appearance.	Whence and whether prest. or not.	Man's name.	Quality.	D. DD. or R.	Time of Discharge.	Whither or for what reason.	Threepence per £.	P.L.O. to 26th Oct. 1758	Chest.	Hospital.	Full Wages.	Neat Wages.	When paid.	To whom paid.
453	27th Oct.	1757	27th Oct.	Pr. Wt. 18th Oct.	James Cook	Master				19.6		13.6	6.6	£ s. d. 79 2 10	£ s. d. 77 3 7	26th March 1760	Alex. Chorley.
							D.	23rd. Septr. 1759	Northd. P. list	19.6		11.9	5.11	78 5 1	76 7 11	11th Decr. 1761	Alex. Chorley.

CHAPTER IV

1759-1762—H.M.S. *NORTHUMBERLAND*

WHEN Admiral Saunders left the St Lawrence for England, after the fall of Quebec, with the greater part of his fleet, he appointed Lord Colville, the captain of H.M.S. *Northumberland*, Commander-in-Chief of the North American Station; he was instructed to hoist the Broad Pennant, to winter at Halifax with his squadron of 7 sail, and to return to the St Lawrence at the earliest opportunity in order to render every support to any further movements that might be made in Canada. Captain Adams was appointed second captain, and remained in her till his removal to the *Diana* in September 1760, when he was succeeded by Captain Bateman. Pay seems to have been a very irregular thing in those days, for, in one of Colville's letters to the Admiralty in which he makes a claim for monies which he believed were due to him, he draws attention to the fact that he had already served "for three years on a foreign station without having received any remuneration."

On the way down the river from Quebec, Admiral Saunders's fleet appears to have found the passage very difficult; the dangers of the Channel being aggravated by the strength of the current and bad weather. The *Captain*, the *Vesuvius*, and the *Royal William* were aground for some time, but were ultimately got off again without much damage, and the *Terrible*, which

was drifting and in great danger, was only brought up by means of an anchor constructed for the occasion by lashing one of the quarter-deck guns to two small anchors. When her large anchors were hauled up, they were found to be broken, and so great was the loss of these articles that Lord Colville found himself obliged to press the Admiralty for a fresh supply to be sent out immediately, as he found it impossible to replace those lost in the Traverse, at Boston, or any other depôt in America.

Colville's squadron arrived in Halifax on 27th October, Cook's thirty-first birthday, and as soon as the winter was over, and the ships had been cleaned and fitted for sea as well as the limited appliances of the place would permit, it left for the St Lawrence, on 22nd April 1760, but as Lord Colville says in his despatches: "The ships were so much retarded by frozen fogs, seas of compacted ice, and contrary winds," that they did not arrive off the Ile de Bic before 16th May. Here they were met by a sloop with the news that Quebec was in urgent need of help. General Murray, hearing of the approach of General de Lévis, with a French force, had left the shelter of the forts, and notwithstanding that he was greatly outnumbered, had offered battle in the open. He had at first chosen a strong position, but hearing from his spies that the French were engaged in cleaning their arms, having been caught in a storm the previous night, and were totally unprepared for an attack, he advanced upon them, and owing to the suddenness of his attack and his superiority in artillery, at first gained a considerable advantage. In the end, however, the weight of numbers told, and the English were forced to retire within the fortifications with sadly reduced forces, and Quebec was again besieged. In consequence of this information, Colville pushed on as rapidly as possible and anchored in the Basin on the morning of the 18th only to find

that the siege had been raised the day before owing to the arrival of H.M.S. *Vanguard* and *Diamond*.

During the next four months the squadron passed an uneventful time in the river and Gulf of St Lawrence, the flagship being moored in the Basin. On 12th September they received news of the surrender of Montreal and the rest of the Canadian provinces to General Amherst, and on 10th October they returned to winter quarters at Halifax.

On 19th January 1761, Lord Colville records in his Journal that he had "directed the storekeeper to pay the Master of the *Northumberland*, fifty pounds in consideration of his indefatigable industry in making himself master of the pilotage of the River St Lawrence." This is the first official recognition that has been, as yet, found of the fact that Cook had gone beyond the ordinary duty that was incumbent on every master in His Majesty's Service, viz.: "To observe all coasts, shoals, and rocks, taking careful notes of the same." There is no record in any of the official documents that Cook was especially engaged in surveying the river, but it is very evident from this entry that he must have done the work during the four months that his ship had been moored in the Basin of Quebec. That is to say, his promotion to the *Northumberland* was previous to, and not the consequence of his survey of the river, and was therefore owing to his general fitness for the position, and not on account of this special work having been done, as has always been asserted.

Admiral Saunders had issued special orders the previous year, that the general instructions from the Admiralty to the officers of the Navy as to the taking of observations, soundings, and bearings, were to be carefully carried out, and the information thus gained was from time to time, as opportunity offered, to be forwarded to him, "so that all existing charts may be corrected and improved." This information, in the

ordinary course of events, would be handed to the Master of the flagship, Mr Bisset, for comparison and compilation, and he, knowing Cook's fitness for the work, may have asked for his assistance and thus introduced him to the notice of Saunders, who seeing his aptitude, then selected him for the completion of the task. In the absence of any records, however, this can only be a matter of supposition.

Admiral Saunders, on his arrival in England from Quebec, wrote to Mr Cleveland, the Secretary to the Admiralty, under date 22nd April 1760, stating that he had ready for publication, a "Draught of the River St Lawrence with its harbours, bays, and islands," and asked for their Lordships' directions thereon. With their Lordships' approval it was published, and may be found at the end of "The North American Pilot, London, 1775," together with other maps, some of which are Cook's work. At the commencement of the book is a letter from Cook to the compiler of the volume, congratulating him on the collection, and referring to the fact that some of the charts contain his work—but he does not lay claim to any special ones. On Saunders' chart of the St Lawrence there is a long note which concludes as follows: "The distances between Isle Coudre and Isle of Orleans, the Pillar Rocks and Shoals in the south channel were accurately determined by triangles. The other parts of this chart were taken from the best French Draughts of this River." It is doubtful if this triangulation could have been carried out by Cook during his passage up and then down the river, the only time he had in 1759, but if it was, it argues much greater knowledge of nautical surveying than he was supposed to have acquired at that time.

During the winters that the *Northumberland* stayed in Halifax Harbour, Cook employed his spare time in improving his knowledge of all subjects that would be of service to him in his profession. He read Euclid

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Descriptions of the Harbour of Halifax & the Coast Adjacent

Cape Sambro

Cape Sambro lies in Latt.de 44°-34' and Longitude 63°-24' W. from London, the Land about it is bounded with white Rocks, is pritty high, and may be seen by 10 Leagues. —

Sambro Light House Islands & Ledges

At 4 miles from the Cape is Sambro light House, it stands upon a small Island call'd Sambro outer Island, it may be seen at a great distance, and is a perfect Mark to know the Land by, being the only thing of its kind upon the whole Coast: it is surrounded with Ledges of Rocks, some of which is above water & others not, and deep water between them; those to the SW lies off 2½ miles from the Light, those to the Southward and Eastward not so far; in a Gale of wind from Sea they all shew themselves but not otherwise, Just without those Ledges is 50 and 60 fathom water, and in among them 8 10 12 & 14 fathom. —

Sambro Harbour

Between the Light and the Mainland is Sambro Inner Island within which is Sambro Harbour where Ships may Anchor sheltered from all winds in 6 and 7 fathom water, the Passage is open at both ends of the Island, the most room and deepest water is at the West end. —

Within the Ledges and between the two Islands is a very good Channel used by Coasting Vessels that are acquainted, but neither this Channel or Sambro Harbour should by no means be attempted by Strangers unless in case of necessity which can seldom happen. —

Chebucto Bay

The SE Point of Cape Sambro is called Chebucto Head; ENE 10 leagues from Chebucto Head is Cape Tiddore or great Tiddore head, between those two Heads is Chebucto Bay, in which is Halifax Harbour, Cole Harbour, and Mash-head above, the two latter will admit nothing but small Craft; this Bay is very open and not a place for Ships to Anchor in, the Ground is pritty clear, having from 30 to 8 & 7 fathom water, the Depth gradually decreasing as you approach the shore, except off the Harbour of Halifax, where [illegible] water quite into the Harbour. —

Bell Rock

The Bell Rock is a sunken rock S.o 3/4 of a mile from Chebucto head, between it and the Land is 8 & 9 fathom water, and just without 40 fathom. —

Eastern Bank

The Eastern Bank is a small sand bank lying NE½N about 3 miles from Chebucto head; The Light two sails breadths open of the head bearing S.o 10 W.t and the Flagg Staff on George's Island touching the West side of Cornwallis's Island bearing N.o 1½ W. will run you directly upon the Shoal, whereon is N.o 2 fathom at low water. —

DESCRIPTION OF HALIFAX HARBOUR.

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From Chebuctohead to Point Sandwich (commonly called the Innerhead head of Chebucto) is North — distance two leagues, all the Shore from the outer head to within a mile of the inner, is very steep too having 18 & 20 fathom close to it; off Hollow but Bay about 2/3 of the way from the head to the point & 3/4 mile from the Shore is a sunken Rock, whereon is but 12 feet at low water, it is very small and deep water all round it: Off Herring Cove within a mile of Pt. Sandwich and 1/2 a mile from the Shore is a Ledge of Rocks whereon is not quite 3 fathom at low water, between them and the Shore is 7 & 8 fathom, and just without them 15 fathom. —

Pt. Sandwich to the inner head of Chebucto

Ledges —

Cornwallis's Island is a large Island lying in the Mouth of the Harbour & on the Starboard side in going in, there is a Passage on the East side called the SE Arm, but it will admit only small Craft, and never used but by fishing Vessels, sometimes in the Winter it is blocked up with Ice. —

Cornwallis's Island

At the south end of this Island, is a small round Island called Thrumcap from which runs out a Shoald one Mile into the Sea, there is gradual Soundings to it from 12 to 4 fathom except on the West side where there is 8 fathom close to the edge.

Thrumcap Shoals

Mangers Beach runs out from the West side of Cornwallis's Island opposite Pt. Sandwich, these two make the Entrance into the Harbour the distance from one to the other is 3/4 mile, close to the point of the Beach is 5 & 4 fathom and deepens as you go over to the head to 15 & 16 fathom. —

Mangers Beach

Round point Sandwich 2 miles is the NW Arm or Sandwich river, it is about 4 miles in length and 1/4 mile broad and hath therein 9: 8 & 7 fathom water, it is used in the Summer by fishing Vessels, but in the Winter it is all froze up.

NW Arm

The North point of the Entrance into the NW Arm is Point Pleasant from which runs out a Ledge of Rocks 1/2 a mile into the Harbour, about 1/2 a mile above this and 2 Cables lengths from the Shore is a small Shoald wherein is a Rock that sometimes shews itself at low water, between it and the Shore is 8 fathom.

Ledge of Pt. Pleasant

Mont. 1/2 a mile from the NW point of Cornwallis's Island between that and George's Island is a small round Shoald that is almost dry at low water and is steep too all round —

Thrumcap Cornwallis's Island

George's Island lies before the S. end of Halifax, it is steep too all round, and the Passage good on both sides, between it and the Town is 10 & 11 fathom and on the other side 12 & 14 fathom. —

George's Island

for the first time, and entered upon a study of the higher mathematics, especially devoting himself to astronomy. King in his sketch of Cook's life says, on the authority of the man himself, that these studies were carried on "without any other assistance than what a few books and his own industry afforded him."

At the opening of the season, Lord Colville dispersed his squadron to those stations where their services appeared most required, and remained with his ship in Halifax till the following year, as it was considered inadvisable to leave such an important naval post open to attack from the neighbouring French settlements, or the Spaniards with whom England was then at war, as he had been advised by despatches dated 26th December 1761. During this period of waiting the words "nothing remarkable" are in constant use in Captain Adams's Journal.

At length this period of inaction was ended. Captain Charles Douglas, of the *Syren*, who was cruising off Cape Race, received information that a squadron of four French ships of the line, having on board some 1,500 picked troops, had made a descent on the island of Newfoundland, and had captured St John's, the capital, which had been most shamefully neglected, and its garrison reduced to 63 men. The *Grammont*, sloop of 22 guns, was unfortunately in harbour at the time, and was also taken. Douglas at once pressed two English merchant vessels into the service, and putting a petty officer in command of one, a brig named the *William*, and his master in command of the other, a sloop named the *Bonetta*, despatched them to cruise in search of Captain Graves, the reappointed Governor of Newfoundland, who was daily expected from England. The *Bonetta* soon fell in with the *Antelope*, Captain Graves's ship, and she immediately joined Douglas, and they proceeded to strengthen the Isle of Boys as far as time would allow. Then going

to Placentia, a place of as much importance as St John's, and more capable of defence, they set about making preparations to beat off any attack, leaving a garrison of 99 men and as many marines as could be spared. Captain Graves despatched Douglas with the remainder of the marines of the *Syren* to take possession of Ferryland, and sent off the ship with letters to Lord Colville, but the brig *William* having missed the *Antelope*, made the best of her way to Halifax, and brought the first news of what had occurred to the commander-in-chief.

Lord Colville at once sent word to General Amherst, who was in command of the British forces on the Continent, asking him to forward what troops he could spare, and then started in the *Northumberland*, accompanied by the *Gosport*, and an armed colonial vessel named the *King George*, 20 guns, to cruise off the Newfoundland coast and endeavour to prevent the arrival of French reinforcements or supplies. He met Graves at Placentia on 14th August, and landed the marines he could spare, afterwards continuing his cruise.

General Sir Jeffrey Amherst made all the haste he could in collecting every spare man from New York, Halifax, and Louisburg, placed them under the command of his brother, Colonel William Amherst, ordering him to use every possible despatch, with the result that they were able to join Lord Colville on 12th September off Cape Spear, and to land on the 13th at a place called Torbay, some three leagues north of St John's. They drove in the French outports and took possession of a small harbour named Quidi Vidi, which had been blocked at the entrance by the French, cleared it out, landed their stores and some artillery, advanced on St John's, and on the 17th compelled its surrender, notwithstanding that it had been greatly strengthened. Captain Graves reported: "The French had put St John's in a better state of defence than we ever had it in."

On the 16th a strong gale blew the English ships some distance off the coast and was followed by a thick fog, during which the French squadron managed to tow out of the harbour, and were in such a hurry to get away that they did not stop to pick up their boats but at once made sail, and in the morning were so far out of reach that, though some of them were seen by the British, it was not realised that they could be the French escaping from a squadron inferior in strength. Lord Colville's account to the Admiralty is as follows:

"The 15th, it being strong from the E. to E.S.E., with thick rainy weather. In the evening the wind shifted to the westward, light breezes and thick fog. At six next morning it being calm with a great swell, we saw from the masthead, but could not bring them down no lower than halfway to topmast shrouds, four sail bearing S.S.E., distance 7 leagues. We lost sight about seven, though very clear, and sometime after a small breeze springing up from the S.W. quarter, I stood towards Torbay in order to cover the shallops that might be going from thence to Kitty Vitty" (Quidi Vidi). "In the afternoon I received a note from Colonel Amherst acquainting me that the French fleet got out last night. Thus after being blocked up in St John's Harbour for three weeks by a squadron of equal number, but smaller ships with fewer guns and men, M. de Ternay made his escape in the night by a shameful flight. I beg leave to observe that not a man in the squadron imagined the four sail, when we saw them, were the enemy; and the pilots were of opinion that they must have had the wind much stronger than with us to overcome the easterly swell in the harbour's mouth. I sent the *King George* as far as Trepassy to bring me intelligence if the enemy should steer towards Placentia; and I directed Captain Douglas of the *Syren* to get the transports moved from Torbay, a very unsafe road, to the Bay of Bulls."

The French fleet must have narrowly escaped falling in with a second English squadron which, on the receipt

of information in England that an expedition had been sent from France to Newfoundland, was immediately despatched, under the command of Captain Palliser, to the assistance of the colony, and arrived at St John's on 20th September, only four days after the flight of M. de Ternay.

Whilst the movements leading up to the recapture of St John's were being carried on, communication between Lord Colville and Colonel Amherst was kept up by the boats of the fleet under the charge of the third lieutenant of H.M.S. *Gosport*, Mr James Cook, formerly Master of H.M.S. *Mercury*, who performed this duty to the complete satisfaction of his Lordship as signified in his despatches to the Admiralty. From this it appears absolutely certain that the two namesakes met here even if they had not done so previously in Halifax. The Captain of the *Gosport* at this time was John Jervis, afterwards created Lord St Vincent.

Entering St John's Harbour on 19th September, the flagship remained till 7th October, during which time Cook was very busily employed in assisting to place the island in a better state of defence. In a despatch of Lord Colville's, dated Spithead, 25th October 1762, he says:

"I have mentioned, in another letter, that the fortifications on the Island of Carbonera were entirely destroyed by the enemy. Colonel Amherst sent thither Mr Desbarres, an engineer, who surveyed the island and drew a plan for fortifying it with new works: when these are finished the *Enterprise's* six guns will be ready to mount on them. But I believe nothing will be undertaken this year as the season is so far advanced, and no kind of materials on the spot for building barracks or sheds to cover the men, should any be sent there. Mr Cook, Master of the *Northumberland*, accompanied Mr Desbarres. He has made a draught of Harbour Grace and the Bay of Carbonera, both of which are in a great measure commanded by the Island,

which lies off a point of land between them. Hitherto we have had a very imperfect knowledge of these places, but Mr Cook, who was particularly careful in sounding them, has discovered that ships of any size may lie in safety both in Harbour Grace and the Bay of Carbonera."

Mr Desbarres's design for the fortification of Carbonera, drawn by John Chamberlain, dated 7th April 1763, is to be found in the British Museum. The island had originally been put in a good state of defence by the English, but no garrison was sent there, as the colonials had undertaken to defend it, but when the time came, not one of them appeared, though Captain Graves was of opinion that it might easily have been rendered almost impregnable. The French, finding it unoccupied, completely destroyed the works. Mr Desbarres was afterwards appointed Governor of Cape Breton.

On the return of H.M.S. *Northumberland* to England where she arrived on 24th October at Spithead, her Master, Mr James Cook, was discharged. The muster roll gives no clue to the reason of his leaving, but merely notes "superseded" on 11th November, and the pay-sheet gives the deductions from his wages as: "Chest, £2, 1s. 0d. Hospital, £1, 0s. 6d." Threepence in the £, £3, 14s. 9d., and leaves him a balance due of £291, 19s. 3d.

The following letter, from Lord Colville to the Secretary to the Admiralty, shows the estimation in which he was held by his immediate superiors, and would doubtless have its weight when the appointment of a man to execute "greater undertakings" came under the consideration of their Lordships.

"LONDON, *30th December* 1762.

"Sir,—Mr Cook, late Master of the *Northumberland*, acquaints me that he has laid before their Lordships

all his draughts and observations relating to the River St Lawrence, part of the coast of Nova Scotia, and of Newfoundland.

"On this occasion I beg to inform their Lordships that from my experience of Mr Cook's genius and capacity, I think him well qualified for the work he has performed and for greater undertakings of the same kind. These draughts being made under my own eye, I can venture to say they may be the means of directing many in the right way, but cannot mislead any.—I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"COLVILLE."

The survey of the "part of the coast of Nova Scotia" was probably made whilst the *Northumberland* lay in Halifax Harbour in 1761 and the early part of the summer of 1762.

Before the close of the year 1762, Cook took upon himself further responsibilities as set forth in the following entry to be found in the register of the Parish Church of Little Barking, Essex:

"James Cook of ye Parish of St Paul, Shadwell, in ye County of Middlesex, Bachelor, and Elizabeth Batts, of ye Parish of Barking in ye County of Essex, Spinster, were married in this church by ye Archbishop of Canterbury's licence, this 21st day of December, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, by George Downing,

"*Vicar of Little Barking Essex.*"

Besant, who obtained his information from one who knew her personally, her second cousin, Canon Bennett, speaks most highly of Mrs Cook's mental qualities and personal appearance, and says the union appears to have been a very happy one. It covered in all a period of about sixteen years; but taking into consideration his continued and often protracted absences, Cook's home life in reality extended to little more than four, and during the remainder, Mrs Cook must have been often for months, sometimes years, without even hearing of

James Cook of ye Parish of St Paul Shadwell
in ye County of Middlesex Batchelor and
Elizabeth Batts of ye Parish of Barking
in ye County of Essex Spinster were married
in this Church by ye Arch-Bishop of Canterbury
Licence this twenty first day of December one
thousand seven Hundred and Sixty two
by George Downing Vicar
of Little Wakering Essex

This Marriage was Solemnized between us { Jam^s Cook / Elizabeth Cook late Batts

In ye Presences of { John Richardson / Sarah Brown / Wm Everrest.

I certify that the above is a true Copy of the ~~Baptisms~~ Marriages Register of the Parish aforesaid, extracted this fifth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty nine

By me H. Hughes Hughes
Vicar of Barking

CERTIFIED COPY OF CERTIFICATE OF MARRIAGE OF CAPTAIN COOK.

Taken from the Register of St Margaret's, Barking, Essex.
From the Whitby Collection.

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Directions for Sailing in and out of the Harbour.

In coming from the Westward give the Light a Birth of one League untill it is brought well on with Cape Tambro or to bear No. from you, then steer NE & NNE for Chebucto Head giving it a Birth of one mile, being the length of the Head, bring the Citadel of Halifax (which is upon the hill over the Town) open of the inner head of Chebucto and steer No. & NBW. directly for it, in this passage you'll meet with irregular sounding from 20 to 11 fathom, and may Anchor any where if you find it necessary; if you have occasion to turn here either in or out, the Mark to keep clear of the Rock off Hollowbutt Bay is George's Island open of the inner head; the Mark for the Ledge near the head is the Citadel open; when abreast of Thrumcap Shoals, you must not stand further to the Eastward than to bring the Flagg staff on George's Island over the Point of Mauger's Beach, untill you are the length of Thrumcap, then you may venture to stand to Cornwallis's Island by your Lead into 7 & 6 fathom; Note the Southend of Thrumcap Shoals lies with Rouse's Island (a small Island on the Et. side of the Entrance into the SE Arm) open and touching with the Main; you must observe that in going out of the Harbour, as soon as you have joined the Island to the Main land you are clear of all Danger on both sides.

From Pt. Sandwich to George's Island is No. one League, you will meet with 18. 16. 14. & 12 fathom water, every where good Anchoring; In turning between the Point and the NW Arm, you will pass over a small Bank called the Haddock Bank whereon is 6 & 7 fathom, you may make free with both sides untill you are the Length of the ledges of Point Pleasant then you must not Shut the outer head of Chebucto behind Point Sandwich or bring the Church of Halifax to the Westward of Mr. Prescott's Still House (a large black House down by the Water side at the Southend of the Town this last mark will lead you clear of all Danger on this side, if you bring the meeting House over the Still-house you will be in danger of being a shore.

As soon as you are the Length of the NW. Point of Cornwallis's Island, and in order to avoid the Shoals of that Point, you must not loose sight of the House on Mauger's Beach untill Mr. Gerrish's Storehouse at Point Pleasant be brought in a Line with the dwelling house that is

SAILING DIRECTIONS, HALIFAX HARBOUR.

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is on the rising ground behind them, you will be then above the Shelf and may stand over to the Eastern Shore as near as you please, it being very bold too having 9 & 10 fathom close to it; you must not make quite so free with the other side untill you are above George's Island, you will be then clear of all danger whatsoever and may Anchor any where before the Town in 13 & 14 fathom excellent clear good holding ground and Shelter from all Winds. —

The Tide flows in the Harbour Full and Change about 7½ an hour after 7 and about 8 feet up and down, but it is greatly governed by the winds —

8 B. All the Bearings are by Compass whose Variation is 13:0 W.

Jas. Cook

This signature is unusual; ordinarily he wrote Jams. not Jas.

the existence of her husband. Her family were in a fairly well-to-do position, her grandfather, Mr Charles Smith, was a currier in Bermondsey; her cousin, also Charles Smith, was a watch- and clock-maker of repute in Bunhill Row. Her mother, Mary Smith, was married twice, her first husband being John Batts of Wapping, and the second, John Blackburn of Shadwell. It appears that Miss Batts, from the marriage register, was residing at Barking, perhaps with relations, and it may be that she first met Cook when on a visit to her mother, who was living in Shadwell at that time, and Cook is described as of that parish. The engagement must have been a very short one, for from the time of his joining the Navy in 1755, when the future Mrs Cook was a girl of fourteen years of age, to his return from Newfoundland in 1762, his time on shore had been very short, and with the exception, perhaps, of a few days between leaving the *Eagle* and joining the *Solebay*, and again between leaving the latter ship and joining the *Pembroke*, none of his time was spent in London or its neighbourhood.

It has been stated that Cook was godfather to his future wife, and that at her baptism vowed that when she grew up he would marry her. The origin of this fable it is impossible to trace, but it is hardly necessary to say it is absolutely ridiculous. Miss Batts was born in Wapping in 1741, and under usual conditions would be baptized within a few days of her birth, and at this time her future husband was either attending Mr Pullen's school at Ayton, or more probably, assisting his father on Airy Holme Farm in Cleveland, a district he never left till 1746, five years after Miss Batts' birth.

After the marriage, Mr and Mrs James Cook lived for a time in Shadwell, and then removed to Mile End Old Town, where Cook purchased a house, which was their home till after his death. This house was left to his wife by his will, dated 14th June 1776, and proved

in London, 24th January 1780. The following is the extract referring to it:

"I give to my dear and loving wife, Elizabeth Cook, all my Freehold Messuage Tenements and Premises, with the appurtenances wherein I now dwell, situate and being in Mile End Old Town, in the County of Middlesex, for the term of her natural life, and after her decease, I give the same to all my children."

Sir W. Besant gives the present number of the house as 88 Mile End Road.

Cook's Alms-houses in Mile End, sometimes connected with Captain Cook, had nothing whatever to do with him, but were founded by a Captain James Cook and Dame Alice Rowe, who, in 1673 left a sum of money with which four houses, containing eight rooms, were built for the use of poor seamen and widows. Dame Alice Rowe was buried in Stepney churchyard in 1703.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER V

1763-1767—NEWFOUNDLAND

THE commission as Governor of Newfoundland was again renewed to Captain Thomas Graves, afterwards created Lord Graves for his distinguished conduct on "the glorious first of June," when, as second in command to Lord Howe, he led the van against the French off Ushant. His province was greatly enlarged for, in addition to Newfoundland, it now included Labrador from Hudson's Straits to the St John River, the Island of Anticosti, other small islands off the Labrador coast, and the Madeline Islands in the Gulf of St Lawrence. He had early recognised the necessity of having a thorough survey of his territory completed (it had been commenced as far back as 1714, by Captain Taverner, but only carried on in a desultory fashion), and therefore made an application to the Board of Trade, which resulted in the following "Representation" from the Board to His Majesty, dated 29th March 1763, to be found in the Shelborne MSS.

"Mr Graves having represented to us that the imperfect Returns hitherto made by the Governors of Newfoundland have been chiefly owing to their want of a Secretary, Surveyor, or other Person, capable of collecting Information, keeping regular accounts and making Draughts of Coasts and Harbours, for which services there has never been any allowances, and that such assistance is now become still more necessary to the Governor of Newfoundland, by the enlargement of his Government, and his instructions to report as

accurately as he can the conditions, fisherys, and other material particulars of a country at present little known. We beg leave to humbly submit to your Majesty, whether it may not be expedient that such an allowance should be made."

Graves had evidently seen, the previous year, that such assistence was necessary, and very probably from having had Cook's work at Harbour Grace and Carbonera before him, recognising his fitness for the position, had made up his mind to secure his services. He would be supported by the knowledge that the Admiralty already had of Cook's work, and by the favourable reports of Lord Colville and others. In any case the above representation must have at once been acted on, for in the Records Office there is this hurried note from Captain Graves to Mr Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty, dated "Tuesday, noon (probably 5th April), 1763."

"Captain Graves' compliments wait upon Mr Stephens and beg to know what final answer he shall give to Mr Cook, late Master of the *Northumberland*, who is very willing to go out to survey the Harbours and Coasts of Labradore and the Draughtsman he was to get from the Tower, as they both wait to know their Lordships' resolution and the footing they are to be upon. I beg to know also whether a schoolmaster be allowed a fourth rate, as I am informed of a good draughtsman who is willing to go upon that footing, he is with Captain Dennis in the *Bellona*."

Again, on the 6th April, he wrote to Mr Stephens:

"Sir,—I have this moment seen Mr Cook and acquainted him he was to get himself ready to depart, the moment the Board was pleased to order him, and that he was to have 10 shil$^{s.}$ a day while employed on this service. He has been to enquire for a draughtsman at the Tower, but as this is a Holiday, he found hardly anyone there. There are some who draw there at

1s. 6d. a day, and others who have two shillings a day. One of which last establishment he wants to have and is assured the Board will continue any such person who chuses to go, on their establishment upon application from your office made for them.

"It is from this {class / set} they always send Draughtsmen with Engineers or Commanding officers who go abroad. The additional pay they require from your office Mr Cook will acquaint you to-morrow as soon as he can see them and propose their going.

"If he does not find their conditions to come within their own office establishment, I have desired him to advertise for a Draughtsman and acquaint you by letter with the terms he can bring them to and wait your commands, as to the hiring any such and as to the time of his setting out for the ship.

"There should be a Theodolite and drawing instruments, which will cost about £12 or £15, and is a thing the ordnance always allow their people. The officers of the yard should be ordered to supply me with two or three azimuth compasses and a number of pendants of any colour to put as signals on different points for taking the angles as the survey goes on. I shall set out this afternoon for the ship and hope to be there by to-morrow.—I am, Sir, etc., etc.,

"THOMAS GRAVES."

The hurried departure of Captain Graves to his ship was owing to the spirit of discontent, in some cases amounting to open mutiny, at that time very rife in His Majesty's Service, and developing in a very threatening manner on board the *Antelope* during her captain's absence in London. On his arrival, however, he soon placed things on a better footing, and by promises of judicious reforms, which he saw were properly carried out, and by quietly replacing some few of the most dangerous of the malcontents with reliable men, he was very shortly able to report himself ready for sea with a complete and fairly contented crew. On the 15th, Graves wrote to Mr Stephens, asking if there was "any change of resolution taken about Mr Cook,

the Master, and an assistant for him, and whether they are to go out with me?" On the 18th he again writes, saying that he had been informed whilst in London that he was to receive orders to purchase two small vessels of about 60 tons each, when he arrived in Newfoundland, one of which "to send with Mr Cook upon the surveys of the coast and harbours," but he was afraid that the orders had been forgotten. He concludes by saying: "The sending out a Draughtsman to survey the Harbours seems to point out the necessity of their having a small vessel fit to use on that business." He also adds a postscript asking for leads, lines, compasses, drawing-tables, etc., to be supplied to Cook from the stores.

With regard to the surveying instruments, etc., required, Cook had already made application in proper form, and had been instructed to purchase some of them, and to transmit the bills to their Lordships, whilst the remainder were to be supplied to him from the Government Stores.

On 19th April received his orders as follows:

"Sir,—My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, having directed Captain Graves, of His Majesty's Ship, the *Antelope*, at Portsmouth, to receive you on board and carry you to Newfoundland in order to your taking a Survey of Part of the Coast and Harbours of that Island. I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you therewith: that you must repair immediately on board the said ship, she being under sailing orders, that you are to follow such orders as you shall receive from Capt. Grave relative to the said service and that you will be allowed Ten shillings a day during the time you are employed therein.—I am, etc. etc., PHILIP STEPHENS."

"Mr James Cook, —— Town.
"Mr William Test, Tower, to be paid 6s. per day."

On 8th May Captain Graves wrote acknowledging the receipt of the orders he had asked for on the 18th

ultimo, and at the same time announced that Mr Cook had joined the ship, but that the assistant, Mr Test, had not been heard of; he therefore suggested that he should endeavour to obtain some other person who was qualified to fill the position. In reply, Mr Stephens wrote that a difficulty had arisen with the Board of Ordnance about Mr Test's pay; they were not inclined to continue it to him as they would be obliged to put some one else in his place during his absence, and since hearing this from the Board, the Admiralty had had no communication from Mr Test. Captain Graves was therefore authorised to fill the vacancy and to make a suitable allowance: he then secured the services of Mr Edward Smart, who sailed from Plymouth in H.M.S. *Spy*, and joined Cook in Newfoundland.

In his letter of 8th May, Captain Graves says:

"The first employment I shall give Mr Cook, will be to survey St Pierre's and Miquelon, before my getting there to surrender those islands; to this end it would have been very convenient that one of the sloops had been ready to sail with me, who might have been detached to perform this service, whilst I made some stay upon the coast to afford them the proper time before the surrender of those Islands to the French."

These two islands, which are in close proximity to the southern coast of Newfoundland, had been ceded to France by the treaty of Utrecht, and the cession was confirmed by the treaty of Paris; the possession of the islands carried with it certain rights of fishing and curing on the coasts of Newfoundland, and these rights and the possession of the islands have remained in the hands of the French till the present day a constant cause of irritation to the fishermen of both nations; but at length, the question of the fishing rights has been satisfactorily arranged. The Earl of Bute is said to have included the clause concerning these islands and rights in the treaty, and public rumour declared

that he had received the sum of £300,000 for permitting it to stand as part of the treaty. It was specially stipulated that the islands were not to be fortified, and that the number of the garrison was to be strictly limited to a small number of troops for police duty only, but even at the very commencement of the peace, it was one continual struggle to evade the terms of the treaty by the one side, and to enforce them by the other, without at the same time coming to an actual rupture.

According to his expressed intention, Captain Graves, on his arrival at St John's, despatched Captain Charles Douglas with the *Tweed*, to superintend the removal of the British settlers from the two islands, and Cook accompanied him with orders to press on the survey as rapidly as possible, in order that it might be completed before the arrival of the French. Unfortunately, M. d'Anjac, who was charged with the duty of receiving the islands on behalf of the French king, arrived off the islands on the same day as the *Tweed*. Captain Douglas refused to permit the French to land until the islands had been formally handed over by his superior officer, and by a little judicious procrastination in communicating with Captain Graves, and by persistent energy on the part of Cook in conducting the survey, sufficient time was gained to complete it. Graves writing to the Admiralty on 20th October 1763, says:

"Meanwhile the survey went on with all possible application on the part of Mr Cook. At length, Mons. d'Anjac's patience being quite exhausted, I received a letter from him on the 30th of June, of which I enclose a copy together with my answer returned the same day. This conveyance brought me a letter from Captain Douglas, expressing his uneasiness on the part of Mons. d'Anjac and pressing to receive his final instructions, and at the same time gave me the satisfaction to learn St Peters' was completely surveyed, Miquelon begun upon and advanced so as to expect it would be

finished before the French could be put in possession: so that any interruption from them was no longer to be apprehended."

An extract, said to be from a Journal of Cook's in the Shelburne MSS., gives a short description of these islands, and conveys the impression that Cook looked upon them as absolutely worthless as either naval or military stations, but still Captain Graves's successor, Palliser, was kept constantly on the alert to defeat the efforts of the French to strengthen their position.

After the official handing over of the islands, Cook was engaged surveying several different places which the Admiralty had specially marked out, and was borne on the book of either the *Antelope* or *Tweed*, as might be convenient. He is to be found on the latter ship entered for victuals only as "Mr James Cook, Engineer, and Retinue." As the dates often overlap each other it is rather difficult to place him, but he was in the neighbourhood of St John's for some two months, and on 5th November, was discharged from the *Antelope* into the *Tweed*, with Mr Smart, for the passage to England, where he remained till the spring of the following year. On 4th January, the Lords of the Admiralty ordered that he and Mr Smart were to be paid their allowances of 10s. and 6s. per day respectively, up to the 31st of the preceding month. Ten shillings per day was the same allowance as was made to the Commander of a Squadron, so Cook's position, looked at from a financial point of view, must have been considered one of importance. It was apparently superior to that of a Master surveying under the directions of the Governor, for in a report that Captain Palliser, when Governor of Newfoundland, gives of an interview between the French Ambassador and himself in London in 1767, on the subject of the fisheries, he states that he produced Cook's chart, and decided the question of the rights of France to the use of Belle Isle for fishing purposes

against the Ambassador by its means, and speaks of Cook, officially, as "the King's Surveyor."

In 1764 Captain Palliser was appointed to succeed Captain Graves as Governor of Newfoundland and at once set aside the schooner *Grenville*, which Graves had used as a despatch boat, for the use of the survey party solely. She had been manned by the ships on the station, but on Palliser's advice the Admiralty wrote as follows to the Navy Board:

"13*th April* 1764.

"GENTLEMEN,—Captain Palliser, who is to have the command of His Majesty's ships and vessels, which are to be employed this year upon the coasts of Newfoundland having represented to us that the present method of manning the *Grenville* schooner from the commanding officer's ship without a proper person to take the charge and command of her, is attended with many inconveniences, and he having therefore proposed that she may have a complement of men established upon her, sufficient to navigate her to England when the season for surveying the coast of Newfoundland is over, in order that she may be properly refitted and sent out early in the spring, instead of being laid up at St John's, and waiting for stores from England, whereby a great deal of time is lost. We do hereby desire and direct you to cause the said schooner to be established with a complement of ten men, consisting of a Master, a Master's Mate, one servant to the Master, and seven seamen; the Master and Master's Mate to be allowed the pay of a sixth rate, and the former to be charged with the provisions and stores, which shall from time to time be supplied to the schooner and to pass regular accounts for the same.—We are, your affectionate friends,

EGMONT. HOWE.
G. HAY. DIGBY.
CARYSFORT.

"*The Navy Board.*"

On 2nd May Mr Stephens wrote to Captain Palliser informing him that Cook had been appointed Master of

the *Grenville* in order to carry out such surveys as Palliser might think necessary, and as soon as the season was over, he was to be ordered with his ship to Portsmouth, and to transmit his "Charts and Draughts" to the Admiralty. On receipt of this letter, Palliser wrote at once to Cook, and his communication is known to be in private hands, together with some autograph copies of letters written by Cook having reference to the *Grenville*, a receipt for her husband's pay signed by Mrs Cook, and some other papers of interest relating to his voyages; but the owners have refused permission for them to be inspected although willing to sell.

It would appear that it was at this period the friendship between Palliser and Cook really commenced, for, previously, there can have been no opportunity for the former to have known anything of Cook's personality. As Captain of a man-of-war he would see nothing of a Master's Mate and know nothing of him except that he did his duty or not, as the case might be, and when at length his attention was specially called to him by outside influence, he was quickly withdrawn from his sphere of knowledge. When they again came in contact Cook had already made a mark for himself. It is very evident that if Palliser had been Cook's friend, as Kippis represents (as he says on the authority of Palliser himself), he would have known more of Cook's early days in the Navy, and would not have made statements to Kippis, which are so easily proved to be incorrect, and in which, unfortunately, the latter has been followed by others.

Cook received his formal instructions on 23rd April, and was at the same time told that as he had expressed a doubt about being able to get suitable men in Portsmouth, he would be provided with conduct money and the free carriage of chests and bedding for those he could raise in London, and that they would be transferred to Portsmouth in the *Trent*. Mr William Parker

was appointed Master's Mate of the *Grenville*, and the company left Portsmouth on 7th May in H.M.S. *Lark*, arriving in St John's on 14th June. They took possession of their ship the same day, and the first entry in the *Grenville's* log is as follows:

"June 14th, 1764, St John's Newfoundland. The first and middle parts moderate and hazy Wr the Later foggy. At 1 P.M. His Majesty's Ship the *Lark* anchored here from England, on board of which came the Master and the Company of this Schooner. Went on board and took possession of Her. Read over to the crew the Master's Warrant, Articles of War, and Abstract of the late Act of Parliament."

After getting the guns and stores on board, and fitting the *Grenville* for her new duties, they left St John's on 4th July to start the survey of the northern portion of the island. A base line was laid out at Noddy's Harbour, and the latitude of Cape Norman was found to be 51° 39′ N.; soundings were taken every mile. On 3rd August Cook left the ship in the cutter to continue his work, but had to return on the 6th, having met with a serious accident. It seems he had a large powder horn in his hand, when, by some means not stated, the powder ignited, and the horn "was blown up and burst in his hand, which shattered it in a terrible manner, and one of the people which was hard by suffered greatly by the same accident." The *Grenville* sailed at once for Noddy's Harbour, where there was a French ship which had a doctor on board, and arriving there at eleven o'clock the same day, secured medical advice. Those who have suffered from a shattered wound can imagine the pain that Cook must have endured during the time that elapsed before he could receive attention, and that attention when received was probably of a very rough nature, according to more modern ideas; for the art of surgery as practised at that time, especially on board ship, was of a very

heroic nature: a glass of spirits the only anodyne, and boiling pitch the most reliable styptic in amputations.

In reference to this accident, the Lords of the Admiralty wrote to Lord Halifax quoting from a letter they had received from Captain Palliser, dated 14th November 1764:

"Mr Cook, the surveyor, has returned. The accident to him was not so bad as it was represented. Nor had it interrupted his survey so much as he (Captain Palliser) expected. He continued on the coast as long as the season would permit, and has executed his survey in a manner which, he has no doubt, will be satisfactory to their Lordships. I have ordered him to proceed to Woolwich to refit his vessel for the next season and to lay before the Board, Draughts of his surveys with all his remarks and observations that may be useful to Trade and Navigation in those parts."

Palliser did not see Cook till some time after the accident, when the worst was over, and it is quite in keeping with the latter's character to minimise his sufferings, and to insist on the work being kept going as far as possible. Samwell relates that after Cook's murder at Owyhee they were enabled to identify his hand by the scar which he describes as "dividing the thumb from the finger the whole length of the metacarpal bones."

Whilst Cook was laid up with his hand, and Mr Parker was engaged with the survey, some of the men were employed brewing, and either the brew was stronger than usual or the officers' eye being off them they indulged too freely, for, on 20th August, it is noted that three men were confined to the deck for drunkenness and mutinous conduct, and the next day the ringleader was punished by being made to run the "Gantelope."

On 1st September Cook left the ship in the Bay of St Genevieve, taking six days' provisions with him, and

ran roughly the course of several small rivers, noting the principal landmarks. On their way to St John's, off Point Ferrol, their small boat was dashed to pieces on a ledge of rock, and its occupants were only saved with great difficulty by the cutter, which by great good fortune happened to be near. Whilst crossing the Banks of Newfoundland, when on the way to England, in November, a series of soundings were made, and the nature of the bottom carefully noted.

On the arrival of the *Grenville* at Woolwich, Cook pointed out to their Lordships that the completion of his charts would necessitate his being a great deal away from his ship, and he would thus be unable to supervise everything that was done on board, so he suggested that she should be sent up to Deptford yard. This was at once agreed to, and Cook was able to devote his whole time to his charts. His own work on the coast had to be supplemented by the observations made on board the six men-of-war stationed in Newfoundland waters, and their commanding officers had received special instructions to take ample soundings and careful observations, and to make charts which were to be sent to Captain Palliser, who was informed that he would be held responsible if these orders were not carried out in their entirety. It is very certain that orders so emphatically enforced on his notice would not be allowed to remain a dead letter.

Whilst at Deptford, the rig of the *Grenville* was altered from schooner to brig, as Cook thought that she would thus be improved in her sailing qualities; she received a thorough overhaul, and was established with "6 swivel guns, 12 Musquets, and powder and shot." Her armament for the previous year having been supplied from the flagship, of course had to be returned. Her crew was also augmented to twenty, including a midshipman and a carpenter's mate, paid as on board a sixth rate. On 25th March 1765, she again left for

Newfoundland, arriving at St Lawrence Harbour on 2nd June to recommence her work. On 14th July, whilst "moored in a bay by Great Garnish, we picked up two men who had been lost in the woods for near a month. They came from Barin, intending to go to St Lawrence Harbour, and were almost perishing for want of subsistence." Going into Long Harbour on 23rd July the *Grenville* ran on to a rock and remained so fast that she had to be unloaded before she could be moved, but by dint of hard work she was floated off the next day, when she was found to have sustained considerable damage to her forefoot. From the log of the *Grenville* it appears that the survey was not carried out continuously, and this is accounted for by the Governor being called upon to settle disputes with the French fishermen, who were apt to place the broadest construction on the limitations of their rights of fishing as laid down by the treaties.

During this year, Captain Debbieg and Captain Lieutenant Basset, engineers, were engaged in surveying the most important points and harbours with a view to fortification, and Palliser was instructed to give them every assistance in his power, and it is quite possible Cook was sent on one or two occasions to help, as they were in close proximity several times; but there is no positive record of his having done so. Amongst the Shelborne MSS. there is a beautifully executed chart of York or Chateaux Bay and Pitt's Harbour, with a plan of a proposed fort; it was made in 1766 and is unsigned, but the handwriting is that of Captain Debbieg. This bay is on the Labrador Coast.

Returning to St John's for her stores, the *Grenville* sailed for England on 5th November in company with Palliser's squadron, and anchored at Spithead on the 30th, and thence went to Deptford for the winter. In February, Cook obtained permission from the Admiralty to publish the charts of Newfoundland that he had

completed, and Captain Palliser, who made the application, said he was of opinion they would "be of great encouragement to new adventurers on the fisheries upon those coasts."

Leaving Deptford on 20th April 1766, the *Grenville* arrived at Bon Bon Bay on 1st June, and the survey of the south-west and south coasts was at once proceeded with. The Burgeo Islands, near Cape Ray, were reached on 24th July, and on 5th August Cook carefully observed an eclipse of the sun. He, on his return to England at the end of the year, handed the results of his observations to Dr Bevis, a prominent Fellow of the Royal Society, who communicated them to that body on 30th April 1767. The following is the extract from "The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society":

"Read 30th April 1767. An Observation of an Eclipse of the Sun at the Island of Newfoundland, 5th August 1766 by Mr James Cook, with the Longitude of the place of Observation deduced from it. Communicated by J. Bevis, M.D., F.R.S.

"Mr Cook, a good mathematician, and very expert in his business, having been appointed by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to survey the sea coast of Newfoundland, Labrador, etc., took with him a very good apparatus of instruments, and among them a brass telescopic quadrant made by Mr John Bird.

"Being, 5th August 1766, at one of the Burgeo Islands near Cape Ray, Latitude 47° 36′ 19″, the South-west extremity of Newfoundland, and having carefully rectified his quadrant, he waited for the eclipse of the sun: just a minute after the beginning of which he observed the zenith distance of the sun's upper limb, 31° 57′ 00″; and allowing for refraction and his semi-diameter, the true zenith distance of the sun's centre 32° 13′ 30″, from whence he concluded the eclipse to have begun at 0^h 46′ 48″ apparent time, and by a like process to have ended at 3^h 45′ 26″ apparent time.

"N.B.—There were three several observers, with

good telescopes, who all agreed as to the moment of beginning and ending.

"Mr Cook having communicated his observation to me, I shewed it to Mr George Witchell, who told me he had a very exact observation of the same eclipse, taken at Oxford by the Rev. Mr Hornsby; and he would compute, from the comparison, the difference of longitude of the places of observation, making due allowance for the effect of parallax, and the earth's prolate spheroidal figure; and he has since given me the following results:

$5^h\ 23'\ 59''$ beginn at Oxford.	$7^h\ 7'\ 5''$ end at Oxford.
$0^h\ 46'\ 48''$ beginn at Borgeo Island.	$3^h\ 29'\ 14''$ end at Borgeo Island.
$4^h\ 37'\ 11''$	$3^h\ 27'\ 51''$
$-\ 51'\ 59''$ effect of parallax, etc.	$+\ 17'\ 35''$ effect of parallax, etc.
$3\ 45'\ 22''$ diff. of meridians	$3\ 45'\ 26''$ diff. of meridians.

Sig^d. J. Bevis."

There is no reference to the eclipse in the log of the *Grenville*, but it appears that Cook was particularly favoured by the weather in obtaining his observations, as the five days previous to the 5th are described as "foggy," and the four or five days succeeding are "raining with squalls." This observation was a most fortunate one for Cook, as it brought him to the favourable notice of a body of eminent men, the Royal Society, outside his own profession, which was, a little later, able to advance his interests, and afterwards to admit him into its own ranks as an ornament of which it is still proud.

On the 4th November he left St John's for his winter quarters at Deptford, and the log ends on 24th November with "Dungeness light N.E. by E. 2 miles." Mr Parker, his assistant, was promoted to a lieutenancy

on their return, and in accordance with a recommendation from Captain Palliser, Mr Michael Lane, schoolmaster of the *Guernsey*, who had joined the Navy from the Bluecoat School, and who had previously been mentioned by Captain Graves for the position, took his place.

On 5th April 1767, the *Grenville* had completed her refit, warped out of dock, and was lying at anchor waiting for the tide to turn in order to drop down to Woolwich, when the *Three Sisters*, a Sunderland collier, Thomas Boyd, Master, "fell athwart her hawse and carried away her bowsprit, cap, and jibboom," which had to be replaced. The story is, that this accident happened to the *Endeavour*, and that Mr Cook, who was naturally very indignant, sent for the offending Master of the collier, in order to give him a good rating for his carelessness in running foul of one of His Majesty's ships; but when he got him on board, he found that he was an old schoolfellow of the Ayton days, and instead of giving him a good blowing-up, took him down into his cabin, and, treating him to the best he had on board, spent "a good time" talking over the old days when they were boys together. The latter part of the story may be true, but the name of the ship has been mistaken.

On 8th April 1767, her repairs being completed, the *Grenville* sailed for Newfoundland, sighting Cape Race on 9th May, and Cook at once got to work on the survey of the west coast, and in September, being off the mouth of the Humber, he landed and made a rapid survey of that river, discovering several lakes, and getting a good general idea of that part of the country. He was away from his ship for five days.

On 14th October he returned to St John's Harbour for the last time, having practically completed the survey of the general run of the coast, and added very considerably to the knowledge of some of the

interior parts of the island. In 1762, Kitchen published a map compiled from the latest available information, and on it is the note: "The inland parts of this island are entirely unknown." Cook is said to have discovered valuable coal seams, but there is no note of anything of the kind amongst his records of the island.

He sailed for England on 23rd October and on 11th November anchored in very heavy weather, off the Nore; it was found that the anchors would not hold, and at length one parted and she "trailed into shallow water," striking very hard. After a while she again struck very heavily, and "lay down on her larboard bilge." As there seemed no prospect of the gale moderating, everything was made as snug as time would permit, and, putting his crew into the boats, Cook made for Sheerness. The weather at length moderated, so obtaining assistance he returned to his ship, and found that fortunately she had sustained but little damage. Next day she was successfully floated, and they got her up to Deptford yards on the following Sunday, 15th November, without further accident, and Cook was able to set to work to prepare his charts for publication.

Captain Palliser wrote to Mr Stephens on the subject on 3rd February 1768:

"SIR,—Mr Cook, appointed by the Right Honourable my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to survey the sea coast of Newfoundland and Labrador, under my direction, having finished his Chart of the South-east Coast of Newfoundland, adjacent to the islands of St Pierre, and including the said islands, and upon a large scale of one inch to a mile, you will herewith receive the said chart, which be pleased to lay before the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"He having also, the last year, delivered in to the Board his survey of the Northern part of Newfoundland upon the same scale, and having now prepared a chart of that part, together with a chart of the opposite part

of the coast of Labrador, including the Islands and Straits of Belle Isle; likewise, another of the above-mentioned survey of a part of the South Coast of Newfoundland both upon a proper scale to be useful to the Trade and Navigation of His Majesty's subjects; therefore, as a publication of the same, I am of opinion, will be a great encouragement to new adventurers in the fisheries upon these coasts, be pleased to move their Lordships to permit Mr Cook to publish the same.—I remain, etc., etc.,

"HUGH PALLISER."

Some of these charts had been published in 1766, and the remainder in response to this letter were now authorised, together with sailing directions for the south, and for the east coasts of the island. Writing of these charts, Admiral Sir W. J. L. Wharton, the late hydrographer to the Admiralty, says:

"The Charts he made during these years in the schooner *Grenville* were admirable. The best proof of their excellence is that they are not yet wholly superseded by the more detailed surveys of modern times. Like all first surveys of a practically unknown shore, and especially when that shore abounds in rocks and shoals, and is much indented with bays and creeks, they are imperfect in the sense of having many omissions; but when the amount of the ground covered, and the impediments of fogs and bad weather on that coast is considered, and that Cook had at the most only one assistant, their accuracy is truly astonishing."

On the publication of his charts, Cook's connection with the island of Newfoundland was concluded, and on 12th April 1768 Mr Lane was "appointed to act as Master of the brig *Grenville*, and surveyor of the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador in the absence of Mr Cook, who is to be employed elsewhere." Mr Lane was to be paid an allowance of five shillings per diem over and above his pay as Master of the brig, which was the same as that of a Master of a sixth rate.

Cook and Lane had both been paid their allowances up to 31st December 1767, and on 16th June the Navy Board were ordered to pay Cook his allowance up to the date of Lane's appointment, that is, till 12th April. From the wording of Mr Lane's appointment, it is evident that the surveyorship of Newfoundland was to be left open for Cook on his return from his first voyage if it was then thought to be desirable for him to resume that duty.

CHAPTER VI

1768—PREPARATIONS FOR FIRST VOYAGE

In writing of the first voyage of Cook to the South Seas, authors were, till a few years ago, content to draw their information from the so-called history written by Dr Hawkesworth. This gentleman, introduced to Lord Sandwich by Dr Charles Burney for the express purpose, had facilities placed within his reach, which no writer since his time could have had. He had given into his charge all the papers belonging to the Admiralty which related to the voyage, he had access to the Journal of Sir Joseph Banks, the Notes of Dr Solander and others who accompanied the expedition, and, more than all, he had the opportunity of personal communication with the leaders of the party. Notwithstanding these advantages, he, from his fondness for what he was pleased to consider "literary style," interpolated so much of his own speculations, conclusions, and dissertations as to render his voluminous work not only extremely unreliable, but often extremely ridiculous.

It has been recorded by travellers in the South Seas that the accounts of things and places described as seen by Cook, are remarkably correct; but that the inferences drawn are often very wrong. They do not seem to have imagined the truth of the matter. The accurate statements of facts are Cook's, whilst the deductions and ornamentations were not only Hawkesworth's, but were also strongly resented by Cook. Boswell, in his "Life

of Dr Johnson" (having dined at Sir John Pringle's on 2nd April 1776), says:

"I gave him," Johnson, "an account of a conversation which had passed between me and Capt. Cook, the day before, at Sir John Pringle's, and he was much pleased with the conscientious accuracy of that celebrated circumnavigator, who set me right as to many of the exaggerated accounts given by Dr Hawkesworth of his voyages."

Cook's opinion on the subject may also be judged from his determination in future to prepare his journals for publication himself.

Within the last few years, however, the Journal of Captain Cook has been published under the able supervision of the late Admiral Sir W. J. L. Wharton, and the Journal of Sir Joseph Banks, which for a long time was missing, has been recovered and published by Sir Joseph Hooker; and these two books may be safely preferred to all others that have been written on the subject.

It had been calculated that in June 1769, a Transit of Venus would occur, observations of which would be of great importance to astronomical science, and several of the European nations were intending to establish points of observation, notably Russia, which had determined on no less than eight. The English Royal Society decided that as this country had hitherto taken a lead in astronomy she ought not now to fall behind. A committee was therefore appointed on 12th November 1767, to consider and report on the places where it would be advisable to take observations, the methods to be pursued, and the persons best fitted to carry out the work. This committee consisted of the Astronomer Royal (Mr Nevil Maskelyne), Dr Bevis (who first introduced Cook to the notice of the Society), Dr Murdoch, Messrs Cavendish, Fergusson, Raper, Short, and Captain John Campbell, R.N. This committee

advised that two observers should be sent to Hudson's Bay, two to the South Pacific, and two to the North Cape—provided that Sweden did not send to the latter place. That the British Government should be asked to supply a ship to convey the observers to the Islands of Mendoza, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, or any other lying between them in the South Seas that should be decided on as the most desirable point of observation. Messrs Mason, Dixon, Bradley, Dunn, Green, Dymond, Dalrymple, and Wales were mentioned as observers, and Captain Campbell was suggested as suitable for the command of the ship. Mr Maskelyne especially recommended Mr Dalrymple as "a proper person to send to the South Seas, having a particular turn for discoveries, and being an able navigator and well skilled in observation." The Council of the Society accepted the recommendations of this committee, and the gentlemen whose names had been mentioned were written to, requesting them, if they were willing to accept, to appear before the Council, that their destinations and fees might be arranged. Dr Maskelyne estimated that the southern voyage would take about two years, and suggested that a sum of ten shillings and sixpence per day would be a reasonable allowance for expenses, and a gratuity, the amount of which was to be considered later, was to be given to each observer. The following memorial to the King was also prepared and duly forwarded to His Majesty:

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty

"The Memorial of the President, Council and Fellows of the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge humbly sheweth—

"That the passage of the Planet Venus over the Disc of the Sun, which will happen on the 3rd of June in the year 1769, is a phenomenon that must, if the same be

accurately observed in proper places, contribute greatly to the improvement of Astronomy, on which Navigation so much depends.

"That several of the Great Powers in Europe, particularly the French, Spaniards, Danes and Swedes are making the proper dispositions for the Observation thereof: and the Empress of Russia has given directions for having the same observed in many different places of her extensive Dominions.

"That the like appearance after the 3rd of June 1769 will not happen for more than 100 years.

"That as far as appears from the History of Astronomy, Mr Jeremiah Horrox (an Englishman), seems to have been the first person since the creation of the World, who calculated the passage of the Planet over the Sun's Disc, and observed the same at the village of Hool, 15 miles northward from Liverpool, on the 24th of November, O.S., in the year 1639.

"That the British Nation have been justly celebrated in the learned world, for their knowledge of Astronomy, in which they are inferior to no Nation upon Earth, Ancient or Modern; and it would cast dishonour upon them should they neglect to have correct observations made of this important phenomenon.

"That by neglecting to take the necessary precautions in due time, the passage of the Planet in the year 1761 was not observed in some places from whence the greatest advantages might have redounded to the improvement of Astronomy.

"The Memorialists are humbly of opinion that Spitzbergen or the North Cape, in the higher northern latitudes; Fort Churchill in Hudson's Bay; and any place not exceeding 30 degrees of Southern Latitude, and between the 140th and 180th degrees of Longitude West from Your Majesty's Royal Observatory in Greenwich Park, would be proper stations for observing the ensuing Transit, to each of which places two observers ought to be sent.

"That a correct set of Observations made in a Southern Latitude would be of greater importance than many of those made in the Northern. But it would be necessary that the Observers who are to pass the Line, should take their departure from England early in this Spring; because it might be some time

before they could fix upon a proper place for making the Observation within the limits required.

"That the expense of having the Observations properly made in the places above specified, including a reasonable gratification to the persons employed, and furnishing them with such instruments as are still wanting, would amount to about 4,000 pounds, exclusive of the expense of the ships which must convey and return the Observers that are to be sent to the Southward of the Equinoctial Line and to the North Cape.

"That the Royal Society are in no condition to defray this expense, their annual income being scarcely sufficient to carry on the necessary business of the Society.

"The Memorialists, attentive to the true end for which they were founded by Your Majesty's Royal Predecessor, The Improvement of Natural Knowledge, conceived it to be their duty to lay their sentiments before Your Majesty with all humility, and submit the same to Your Majesty's Royal Consideration."

In answer to this Memorial, the President of the Royal Society was able, on the 24th March, to inform the Council that the king had been graciously pleased to order the sum of £4,000 "clear of fees," to be placed in his hands to defray the expenses of the expeditions of observation. After the return of the expeditions, and the payment of all accounts due, there was a considerable balance left over, which the king placed at the disposal of the Society; and a portion of it was expended on the bust of His Majesty, by Nollekins, now in their possession.

Mr Dalrymple, on the receipt of the Secretary's letter informing him that his name had been recommended as one of the observers, replied that he would wait on the Council at the time appointed, and that wherever he might be, he would not let the opportunity slip of taking an observation of such an important event as the Transit of Venus; but there was only one part of the world where he would engage to make the observations

for the Society, and that was in the Southern Seas; and he would not make the voyage at all "on any other footing than that of having the management of the ship intended for the service." At the meeting when the President announced the king's gift to the Council, he also stated that he had recommended Mr Dalrymple to the Admiralty for the command of the vessel, the use of which had been granted for the expedition to the South Seas, but he had been informed by their Lordships that such an appointment would be "entirely repugnant to the regulations of the Navy." Mr Dalrymple, who attended on the Council, persisted in his demand, and it was therefore resolved "to consider of a proper person at a future Council." It is said that Sir E. Hawke, having in view the disastrous results of appointing Halley to the command of a King's ship in 1698, when a mutiny occurred, positively refused to sign any such commission, saying that he would rather cut off his right hand than permit any one but a King's Officer to command one of the ships of His Majesty's Navy.

Dalrymple had originally gone out to India as a clerk in the Honourable East India Company's service, but was not very successful in that rôle owing to his bad handwriting. He then spent some years trading amongst the islands of the Malay Archipelago, and was in Canton in 1764. He returned to England and published a couple of pamphlets on the East Indies, and 1767 a book on the discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, which brought him to the notice of the Royal Society. He afterwards turned his attention to hydrography; was for a time hydrographer to the East India Company, and was then appointed the first hydrographer to the Admiralty, from which office he was dismissed for exceeding his powers—and soon afterwards died. He appears to have been a really clever man, but of an extremely overbearing disposition, and with a very strong appreciation of his own talents. In writing

to Dr Hawkesworth he says: "I never write on any subject I do not thoroughly understand." He appears never to have forgiven Cook for having been successful in obtaining the command of the expedition to observe the Transit of Venus, and also for upsetting his pet theory of a large continent in the Southern Ocean.

On 5th March the Navy Board was instructed by the Admiralty to propose a proper vessel in which to convey the observers to the South Seas, and in consequence, the Board first suggested the *Tryal Sloop* and then the *Rose*, but both these vessels were found to be unsuitable; and they were then ordered to purchase a ship for the purpose. On 29th March they wrote to Mr Stephens:

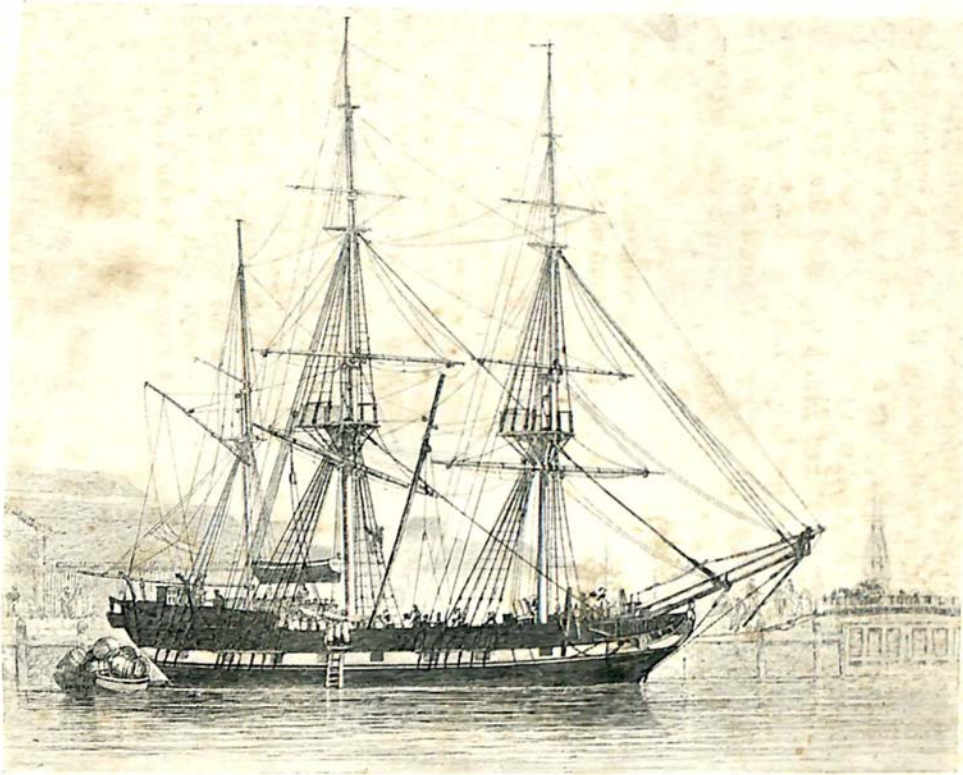
"SIR,—In pursuance of the commands of the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, signified to us by your letter of the 21st inst., we desire you will acquaint their Lordships that we have purchased a cat-built Bark, in Burthen 368 Tuns and of the age of three years and nine months, for conveying such persons as shall be thought proper, to the Southward for making observations of the passage of the planet Venus over the Disk of the Sun, and pray to be favoured with their Lordships' directions for fitting her for the service accordingly, in which we presume it may be necessary to sheath and fill her bottom, and prepare her for carrying six or eight light carriage guns of Four pounds and eight swivels as was proposed for the *Tryal*, and in other respects as the nature of the voyage may require.

"And that we may also receive their commands by what name she shall be Registered on the list of the Navy.—We are, Sir, your very humble servants,

"G. COKBURNE. THOS. SLADE.
"J. WILLIAMS. E. MASON."

A "cat-built" ship is described in the Encyclopædias as one that has round bluff bows, a wide deep waist, and tapering towards the stern. The name was derived from the Norwegian "kati," a ship.

This cat-built bark, the now immortal *Endeavour*,



A BARQUE.

Reproduced from E. W. Cooke's "Shipping and Craft," typical of the Endeavour.

[*To face p.* 88.

was built by Messrs Fishburn of Whitby, and was purchased from her owner, Mr William Milner of that port. Dr Young says that her original name was the *Earl of Pembroke*, but Sir Evan Macgregor, writing to Mr W. G. Waddington under date 2nd February 1888, says that she was purchased "under the name of the *Endeavour*, and was entered as a barque." The Public Records, however, prove that Dr Young was correct, for in "The Warrant Entry Book from Board of Trade," Survey Office, there are the following entries:

"Deptford, March 23rd 1768. Two cats called the *Valentine* and the *Earl of Pembroke* to be surveyed and report which is the properest to be purchased."

"Deptford, March 28th 1768. Ship *Earl of Pembroke* to be received."

"Deptford, April 7th 1768. Ship purchased to be sheathed, filled and fitted for a voyage to the southward. To be called *The Endeavour Bark*."

From the Survey Office "List of H.M. Royal Navy, etc.," 1771-1776, it has been ascertained that her price was £2,800, and the cost of sheathing and fitting her for her voyage was £2,294. The reason she was called officially either the *Bark Endeavour* or the *Endeavour Bark* was that there was another *Endeavour* in the Navy, stationed at the Nore at that time.

Kippis says that when the purchase of a ship was resolved on, Palliser was entrusted with her selection, and that he called on Cook for assistance in the matter, and although there is no official authority for the statement it may well be true. It had not been publicly announced, but it appears to have been generally accepted, that Cook had been selected for the command of the expedition, and the fact that a Whitby-built ship was chosen seems further corroboration.

Mr Dalrymple enters a claim, in letters written to Dr Hawkesworth, to having "chosen" the *Endeavour* for the voyage, but as the *Valentine* and *Earl of*

Pembroke were not ordered to be surveyed till 23rd March, when it was known that the Admiralty had refused to allow him the command of the expedition, there does not appear to be much weight in his claim.

Admiral Wharton assumes that, as Cook expresses himself averse from having exploring ships sheathed with copper, owing to the difficulty of making satisfactory repairs in case of accident when away from proper facilities, and from the constant mention of "heeling and boot-topping" in the Journal of the *Endeavour*, it is most probable that she was sheathed in wood. This assumption is fully justified, for there is no mention of any copper in the Surveyor's books at the Records Office, nor at the time of her being repaired at the Endeavour River, nor in Batavia, when it is impossible that any account of her damaged bottom could be given without the mention of copper, had such sheathing been used. The *Naval Chronicle*, 1799, says that the *Alarm* frigate was the first ship of the Royal Navy to be copper sheathed, and this was in 1758; and it is also said that at the time of this expedition, Captain Wallis's ship, the *Dolphin*, in which he sailed round the world, was the only coppered ship in the service; and that she remained the only one for some years.

On 5th May a meeting of the Council of the Royal Society was held, and

"Captain John Campbell mentioned that *Captain James Cook*" (thus in the Minutes of the Society) "who now attended will be appointed by the Admiralty to the command of the vessel destined for the observation in the Southern Latitudes, and that he was a proper person to be one of the observers in the observation of the Transit of Venus, Mr Cook was called in, and accepted the employment in consideration of such gratuity as the Society shall think proper, and an allowance of £120 a year for victualling himself and the other observer in every particular.

"Mr Green, attending, was also called in, and accepted the engagement of observer, and agreed to the allowance aforesaid, with a further gratuity to himself of 200 guineas for the voyage, and if the voyage should exceed two years, then at the rate of 100 guineas per ann.

"Resolved that the instruments for the use of the observers in the Southern Latitudes be the following:

"2 Reflecting telescopes of two feet focus, with a Dolland's micrometer to one of them and moveable wires for the other, now at Mr Shorts.

"2 Wooden Stands for the telescopes with polar axes suited to the Equator; provided by Mr Short and now at his house.

"An astronomical quadrant of one foot radius, made by Mr Bird and now at his house.

"An astronomical Clock and Alarm Clock, now at the Royal Observatory.

"A Brass Hadley's sextant, bespoke by Mr Maskelyne of Mr Ramsden.

"A Barometer, bespoke of Mr Ramsden.

"A Journeyman Clock, bespoke of Mr Skelton.

"2 Thermometers, of Mr Bird.

"1 Stand for Bird's quadrant, now at the house of the Society.

"A dipping needle, bespoke of Mr Ramsden."

The workmen were ordered by the Society to show and explain the instruments to Messrs Cook and Green, and Mr Robertson was instructed to provide them with Senex's or Halley's maps of the zodiac. A portable observatory was constructed of a wooden framework covered with canvas under the superintendence of the Astronomer Royal and Cook, at a cost of £16, 16s. Mr Weld, in his "History of the Royal Society," says it was designed by Smeaton, the builder of the Eddystone Lighthouse.

Mr Maskelyne, knowing the necessity of a good watch when taking observations for ascertaining the longitude, lent the Society one of his own, made by Graham, which was to be entrusted to Mr Green, and was signed for with the other instruments. At the

meeting at which this offer of Mr Maskelyne's was made, Cook agreed to accept a gratuity of one hundred guineas from the Society for taking the observations, and was paid £120, the allowance for the sustenance of Mr Green and himself, and was authorised to draw on the Society during the voyage, for a further amount, not exceeding £120.

The following entry appears in the "Commissions and Warrants Book" under the date 25th May 1768.

"Mr JAMES COOK (2nd) 1st Lieutenant *Endeavour Bark*.
E. H., C. T., C. S."

The initials signify Edward Hawke, Charles Townshend, and Charles Saunders. The (2nd) evidently refers to the fact that there was already one James Cook, a Lieutenant in the Navy, viz., the former Master of the *Mercury*, and Third Lieutenant of the *Gosport*.

On the same date as the entry of his appointment the Lords of the Admiralty wrote to Cook:

"Whereas we have appointed you First Lieutenant of His Majesty's Bark, the *Endeavour*, now at Deptford, and intend that you shall command her during her present intended voyage; and, whereas, we have ordered the said Bark to be fitted out and stored at that place for Foreign Service, manned with seventy men (agreeable to the scheme on the Back hereof) and victualled to Twelve months of all species of Provisions (for the said number of men at whole allowance) except Beer, of which she is to have only a proportion for one month and to be supplied with Brandy in lieu of the remainder: you are hereby required and directed to use the utmost despatch in getting her ready for the sea accordingly, and then falling down to Galleons Reach, take in her guns and gunners' stores at that place and proceed to the Nore for further orders.

"Given etc., etc., 25th May 1768

"ED HAWKE. C. TOWNSHEND. P. T. BRETT.

"TO LIEUT. JAMES COOK."

In the "Scheme" he is put down as First Lieutenant to command at five shillings per day; it is to be presumed that this was his command allowance, and does not compare favourably with that of the present day.

In consequence of these orders Cook proceeded to Deptford, and hoisted his pendant on board H.M.S. *Endeavour* on 27th May, and proceeded to push on the preparations for sea. A considerable quantity of coal was taken on board for use in the stores for drying the ship, as it took up so much less room than wood.

At this time Captain Wallis had returned from his voyage round the world in the *Dolphin*, and reported very strongly in favour of the island of Georgeland, called afterwards by Cook Otaheite, as the most convenient place at which the observations might be taken. The Royal Society accordingly wrote to the Admiralty requesting that the *Endeavour* should be ordered to go there. They also notified that "Mr Charles Green and Capt. Cook, who is commander of the vessel," had been appointed observers. At the same time they said:

"Besides whom Joseph Banks, Esq., Fellow of this Society, a Gentlemen of large fortune, who is well versed in Natural History, being desirous of undertaking the same voyage, the council very earnestly request their Lordships that in regard to Mr Banks's great personal merit and for the advancement of useful knowledge, he also, together with his suite, being seven persons more (that is eight persons in all) together with their baggage, be received on board of the ship under the command of Capt. Cook."

They also requested that the expedition might be landed a month or six weeks before the 3rd June in order that the instruments might be got into proper working order, and for fear that some accident might prevent the arrival of the ship at Georgeland, a table of limits was enclosed within which the observations

might be taken. Full instructions to the two observers were also sent that had been drawn up by Mr Nevil Maskelyne, and a list of the fixed stars to be observed.

The order to receive Mr Green and Mr Banks and party on board the *Endeavour* was given on 22nd July. They were to be entered "for victuals only," and were to be supplied with the same as the ships' company during their continuance on board. The members of Mr Banks's party were: Dr Solander, naturalist; H. Sporin, assistant naturalist; A. Buchan, S. Parkinson, and Jno. Reynolds, artists; James Roberts and Peter Briscoe, white servants; Thos. Richmond and J. Dorlton, coloured servants.

It was owing to the personal friendship existing between Banks and Lord Sandwich that he was permitted to accompany Cook. He had taken up the study of botany as a boy at school, and at an early age had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He had made a voyage to Newfoundland in the summer of 1766, in H.M.S. *Niger*, Captain Sir Thos. Adams, and it has been stated, met Cook for the first time when out there, but there is nothing to show that this is the case; the two ships, *Niger* and *Grenville* were never together. He seems to have immediately formed a just estimate of Cook's worth; indeed, Sir John Barrow says he took a liking to him at the first interview; and a firm friendship quickly sprung up between them which lasted to the end; and many instances are to be found of his interest in, and support to Cook after their return home. This friendship speaks volumes for the character of Cook, for though Banks was a most kindly natured man at heart, he had, at times, a very over-bearing manner.

Sir Joseph Hooker, in his introduction to Banks's Journal, quotes from an interesting letter written by Mr John Ellis, F.R.S., to Linnæus, the great botanist, from which the following is extracted:

"I must now inform you that Joseph Banks, Esq., a gentleman of £6,000 per annum estate, has prevailed on your pupil, Dr Solander, to accompany him in the ship that carries the English astronomers to the new discovered country in the South Sea, where they are to collect all the natural curiosities of the place, and after the astronomers have finished their observations on the Transit of Venus, they are to proceed under the direction of Mr Banks, by order of the Lords of the Admiralty, on further discoveries. No people ever went to sea better fitted out for the purpose of Natural History, nor more elegantly. They have got a fine library of Natural History: they have all sorts of machines for catching and preserving insects; all kinds of nets, trawls, drags, and hooks for coral fishing; they have even a curious contrivance of a telescope, by which, put into the water, you can see the bottom at a great depth, where it is clear. They have many cases of bottles with ground stoppers, of several sizes, to preserve animals in spirits. They have the several sorts of salts to surround the seeds; and wax, both bees-wax and that of the myrica; besides, there are many people whose sole business it is to attend them for this very purpose. They have two painters and draughtsmen, several volunteers who have a tolerable notion of Natural History; in short, Solander assured me this expedition would cost Mr Banks £10,000. About three days ago I took my leave of Solander, when he assured me he would write to you and to all his family, and acquaint them with the particulars of this expedition. I must observe to you that his places are secured to him, and he has promises from persons in power, of much better preferment on his return. Everybody here parted from him with reluctance, for no man was ever more beloved and in so great esteem with the public, from his affable and polite behaviour."

The *Endeavour* left Deptford on 21st July, called at Galleons Reach, where she remained till the 30th taking in her guns and gunners' stores. Her armament was originally established at six carriage guns, four pounders, increased to ten at Plymouth, and eight swivels to which, at Cook's request, four more were

added for use in the ship's boats. She then dropped down the river, and anchored in the Downs on 3rd August. The complement of the ship had been increased to eighty-five men, including twelve marines who were to join at Plymouth; and a Third Lieutenant had been appointed on 20th July. Cook joined his ship on the 7th, discharged his pilot and sailed the next day, He had a very tedious passage down the Channel, and did not arrive in Plymouth till the 14th, when he immediately sent word to Messrs Banks and Solander, who had remained behind in London, that his ship was ready for sea, and he was only waiting for a fair wind to sail at once. They immediately started for Plymouth, their baggage being already safely on board, and joined Cook on 20th August.

Having received his marines, extra guns, twelve barrels of powder, and other stores, Cook mustered his crew, paid them two months' advance, and explained to them that they were not to expect any additional pay for the intended voyage. He says "they were well satisfied and expressed great cheerfulness and readiness to prosecute the voyage."

The orders under which he sailed were secret, and, unfortunately, are not to be found. Admiral Wharton says that the letter covering them is in existence, but the orders themselves which should be on the next page are not there. Cook, however, writes:

"I was, therefore, ordered to proceed directly to Otaheite; and, after the astronomical observations should be completed, to prosecute the design of making discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean by proceeding to the South as far as the latitude of 40°: then, if I found no land, to proceed to the west between 40° and 35° till I fell in with New Zealand, which I was to explore, and thence return to England by such route as I should think proper."

This is evidently a version of his orders given with

the light of knowledge gained by having carried them out, and it would be most interesting to be able to compare them with the original ones. His last letter to the Admiralty, before leaving England, was written on the day of his arrival at Plymouth, informing them of that fact, and announcing his intention of proceeding to sea with all possible despatch.

CHAPTER VII

1768-1769—PLYMOUTH TO OTAHEITE

AFTER waiting for some days for a fair wind, Cook eventually sailed at 2 P.M. on 26th August, having on board, as he says in his Journal, "94 persons including officers, seamen, Gentlemen and their servants, near 18 months' provisions, 10 carriage guns, 12 swivels, with good store of ammunition and stores of all kinds." On 1st September they had heavy gales lasting for about twenty-four hours, and a small boat belonging to the boatswain was washed away and "between three and four dozen of our poultry, which was worst of all," were drowned. The ship was found to be very leaky in her upper works, and the sails in the store got very wet. Banks notes they caught two birds in the rigging that had evidently been blown off the coast of Spain, which they were passing at the time. On 13th September they anchored in Funchal Roads, and during the night "the Bend of the Hawser of the stream anchor slip'd owing to the carelessness of the person who made it fast." The anchor was hauled up into a boat in the morning and carried further out, but, unfortunately, in heaving it into the water, the master's mate, named Weir, got entangled in the buoy rope, was carried overboard and drowned before any assistance could be rendered.

Whilst shifting her berth to a more convenient spot, the *Endeavour*, owing to some misunderstanding, was fired on by one of the forts, but satisfactory explana-

tions and apologies were made, and Cook treated it as a matter of such small importance that he does not mention it in his Journal. This incident is probably the origin of the story told by Forster in his Journal of Cook's second voyage. He says that "Captain Cook in the *Endeavour* battered the Loo Fort at Madeira in conjunction with an English Frigate, thus resenting an affront which had been offered to the British flag." On the arrival of the *Endeavour* at Funchal the only British man-of-war there was H.M.S. *Rose*, which sailed the following day with a convoy, and neither her captain's Journal nor the ship's log makes any reference whatever to any dispute with the Portuguese. No other English man-of-war came into the port whilst the *Endeavour* was there, and neither Banks nor Parkinson refers to the matter in any way, and Cook afterwards, at Rio, expressly informed the Viceroy that he had been well received by the Portuguese at Madeira.

A fresh supply of water, beef, vegetables, and wine was taken on board; the wine, fruit, and water being good and cheap, but the beef and some poultry purchased for the cabin were dear, and only to be obtained by special leave from the Governor. Two of the men, a marine and a sailor, received twelve lashes each for refusing to eat their allowance of fresh meat. This appears to be harsh treatment, but it must be remembered that the lash was at that time almost the only recognised method of punishment in the Navy for offences however trivial, and also that Cook knew, from his own experience, how important it was to prevent the scurvy from once getting a foothold on board, and was determined to fight this, almost his most dangerous foe, by every means in his power. He was fortunate in getting a large supply of good onions here, and twenty pounds of this useful vegetable were served out per man, followed a few days afterwards by a further supply of 10 lbs.

Mr Banks, who with his staff, spent the five days they were at Funchal with Mr Cheap, the English Consul, describes the place as very pretty when viewed from the sea. He explored as much of the island as he could, but complains that his time was so much broken up that he does not think he was ever more than three miles from the town. The Governor visited them on one day which he says was thus wasted, but relates, with evident glee, how he took his revenge. There was an electric machine on board, and His Excellency was most curious on the subject, so it was sent for and explained to him, and Mr Banks says, "they gave him as many shocks as he cared for; perhaps more." A visit was paid to a large convent where the nuns, who had heard that they were distinguished scientists, plied them with all sorts of questions, and Banks says that for the half-hour the visit lasted their tongues were going "all the time at an uncommonly nimble rate." A monastery was also visited, but the monks were unprepared to show them hospitality; however, they invited the party most cordially to return the next day, and, though it was a fast day, they promised them that they should have roast turkey for dinner. Unfortunately, the invitation could not be accepted. The people he describes as very primitive, idle, and uninformed, and all their instruments of the rudest make, and he thought that the appliances used in the manufacture of wine must have been similar to those used by Noah, 'although it is not impossible that he might have used better, if he remembered the methods he had seen before the flood." One of the Governors left it on record that so averse were the people from change that he esteemed it most fortunate that the island was not Eden before the fall, as in that case the inhabitants could never have been induced to put on clothes. Banks obtained many valuable notes and specimens

SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

[*To face p.* 100.

from a Dr Heberden, who had been resident on the island for some years.

On 19th September, at midnight, they weighed anchor, sighting Teneriffe on the 23rd, and the next day saw their first flying fish, which found its way into Mr Green's cabin. On the 28th they caught a young shark, and had some steaks for dinner, which Banks and Solander reported on as being very good; but the crew religiously refused to try them. Cape de Verde Islands were seen on the 30th, and about a fortnight afterwards, having had a long succession of calms, the line was crossed in 29°24′ W. longitude, and the following day that event was celebrated in the usual rough manner. A list of all on board was drawn up, even including the dogs and cats, and was brought into the cabin to Lieutenant Hicks, who had crossed before. All hands were mustered on deck, and those who had to pay homage to Father Neptune were separated from the rest. Any one who wished could purchase immunity for four days' allowance of wine; but the others had to undergo the ordeal of ducking. Banks compounded for himself and party, and it must be supposed that the commander of the ship followed his example, as it is not reported that he was ducked. That process was carried out as follows: A rope was rove through a block on the end of the main-yard and had three pieces of wood fastened on it, one to form a seat to which the victim was securely lashed, the second for him to hold on to, and the third over his head to prevent his being injured by the rope being hauled too far through the block. When securely lashed, the boatswain whistled, and the sufferer was hauled up till stopped by the upper piece of wood, then a second whistle, and down he came with a run into the sea, only to be quickly hauled up for a second and then a third dip. Cook says the "ceremony was performed to

about twenty or thirty to the no small diversion of the rest."

Whilst near the Equator great inconvenience was experienced from the damp heat, everything was mouldy or rusty, and several of the crew were on the sick-list with a sort of bilious complaint; but fortunately it did not get a sufficient hold to become a serious matter.

They struck soundings on 6th November, and heaving the lead three times within three or four hours they found a difference of less than a foot between each cast. On the 8th land was sighted, which proved to be the Coast of Brazil, near Cape Frio, latitude 21° 16′ S. They came across a boat near this place, manned by eleven blacks who were engaged in fishing, salting, and stacking the fish in their boat as they caught them. Banks purchased some of their catch, and was going to pay for them in Spanish coin, but was greatly surprised to find they preferred English money. Their method of obtaining a drink from the water cask caused some amusement as it required two men to one drink. A hollow cane was inserted into the cask by one man who covered the orifice at the top end of the cane with his hand, and then transferred the contents of the cane from the cask to the mouth of his thirsty mate.

On 13th November they arrived off Rio de Janeiro, where they were very ungraciously received by the Viceroy, and Cook's report on the subject, together with copies of the "Memorials" that passed between the two, are to be found in the Public Records office. The report, a lengthy document, is worth reading, as it shows, in a marked degree, great patience and dignified conduct in a difficult and undoubtedly very galling position. The facts shortly told are as follows: As soon as the *Endeavour* arrived off the port, Lieutenant Hicks was sent in one of the boats to announce the arrival of the ship, to ask for the services of a pilot

to take her up to the proper anchorage, and to inform the Viceroy that she was calling in to obtain such necessary refreshment as would enable her to continue her voyage. A favourable breeze springing up, Cook decided not to wait for Mr Hicks's return, but to sail up the river where he encountered no difficulties—and he anchored off the town. The boat then returned to the ship without Mr Hicks, who had been detained on shore by the orders of the Viceroy, and it was quickly followed by a second one with several officers "who asked many and very particular questions, all of which was answered to their satisfaction." These officers told Cook that it was the invariable custom to detain any one who came ashore from a ship before the Viceroy's boat had visited her. A guard boat next made its appearance with orders to allow no one to land except Cook, and no one to go on board without a special permit. Mr Hicks, who had at last been allowed to return to his ship, reported that as soon as he had delivered his message, he was asked if he would conform to the customs of the place, and he at once replied that any customs that had previously been observed by English men-of-war would be conformed to. He was told that Cook must wait on the Viceroy the next day, and when he attempted to go to his boat he was prevented, and told he would have to remain ashore till his captain landed. However, he was allowed to return the next day.

Cook then had an interview with the Viceroy and arranged for the purchase of food, which must be bought through a native, and a commission of five per cent. paid on everything. He was permitted to water the ship, but had to submit to a sentry over his men and a guard in each boat engaged. When these matters had been arranged Cook remonstrated about his lieutenant having been detained, only to be

met with the same explanation that he had received before, and he decided to "waive this matter in the best manner I could, being very desirous of avoiding all manner of disputes of this nature, which I knew could not fail of creating a delay which would retard the voyage, the success of which I had of all things most at heart." He then informed the Viceroy that he had some scientific gentlemen on board and requested that they might be allowed to land after being so long at sea, and also be permitted to make collections of such things as related to natural history; but to his great surprise this request was promptly refused.

On returning to his ship he found that an officer had been told off to accompany him wherever he went, and was informed that he was there to render him any assistance he might require, but as Cook could not speak Portuguese and the officer could speak no English, the former thought he would not be of much service, and concluded that he was simply intended as a guard. He informed his attendant that an English gentleman, named Foster, who was in the Portuguese army, had offered his services and they would suffice, and that at any rate his guard should not be permitted on board his ship in that capacity; to which it was replied that he might be left in the guard-boat, but that he must accompany him so far. In the end this officer and Mr Foster dined on board as Cook's guests, and after dinner Mr Banks and some of the others prepared to accompany Cook on shore to call on the Viceroy, but were informed that no one except the Commander of the *Endeavour* would be permitted to land. Cook was unable to see the Viceroy so he sent word to him that he was greatly obliged for the honour done him in attaching an officer to him during his stay, but he hoped His Excellency would not insist on it, as it was an

honour that would not be paid in England to an officer of his rank, and that it had not been conferred on the Commanders of the *Dolphin* and *Tamar* when they were at Rio. The Viceroy replied that Portuguese officers would not expect the same compliment in England, and he did not know what had been done in the case of the *Dolphin* and *Tamar*, as that was before his time; he was only acting according to orders, and no one but the Commander would be allowed on shore.

After further discussion, Cook considered the possibility of leaving the port at once, but came to the conclusion, in the interests of the expedition, to put up with these indignities, obtain what he required, and then report the matter fully to the Admiralty. A "Memorial," signed by Cook and Banks, was sent by Mr Hicks to the Viceroy, and Hicks was instructed to admit no guard into his boat. The Viceroy, however, would receive no communication from an unguarded boat. Mr Hicks was conveyed back to the *Endeavour* by force, and his boat was seized and his boats' crew put in prison. Their release was immediately demanded by Cook, who received a reply that an answer would be sent the next day. That night the long boat with four pipes of rum in her—she had been engaged in bringing stores to the ship—broke away in a squall, and the only boat Cook had to send after her was the yawl, which picked her up but had to leave her at a grapnel as she was too small to tow her back. A letter was sent the next morning for assistance to get her back to the ship, and asking for the return of the pinnace and her crew. After some delay the requests were granted and an answer was also sent to the Memorial. The Viceroy expressed a doubt as to the *Endeavour* being a King's ship, accused the crew of smuggling, and appeared to have been utterly unable to understand the object of the voyage. Cook says his only idea of

the Transit of Venus was "the North Star passing through the South Pole. His own words."

Finding it was not possible to go on shore unguarded, Cook remained on board, but by sending his boats in command of petty officers, he, submitting to a guard, was able to get in his supplies, and was soon ready to "put to sea, without loss of time, in as good a condition for prosecuting the voyage as the day we left England." What made the maintenance of a guard especially galling, was that a Spanish man-of-war came in during his stay and no guard was put on her—and her officers were permitted to go wherever they liked.

M. de Bougainville, when on his voyage, visited Rio, and was at first received in a most friendly manner by this same Viceroy; but after a time the treatment was altered, and he had to put up with even greater insolence than Cook.

The Spanish man-of-war above mentioned willingly undertook to carry home and forward to the Admiralty Cook's report and copies of the memorials and replies; but it has not been ascertained what further steps were taken. Cook speaks of this correspondence as "a paper war between me and His Excellency, wherein I had no other advantage than the racking his invention to find reasons for treating us in the manner he did, for he never would relax the least from any one point."

Parkinson, in the Journal published by his brother, which was suppressed for a time in the interests of Dr Hawkesworth's work, says that, notwithstanding the precautions taken by the Governor, he, Banks, and Solander

"frequently, unknown to the centinel, stole out of the cabin window at midnight, letting ourselves down into the boat by a rope; and driving away with the tide till we were out of hearing, we then rowed to some unfrequented part of the shore, where we landed and made excursions up into the country, though not so far as we could have wished to have done."

Speaking of the supplies received at Rio, Banks says the beef, though very cheap, about 2½d. per pound, was very lean and dry; the bread tasted as if made of sawdust, and quite justified the Portuguese name, Farinha de Pao (wooden meal); and the fruits, with the exception of the oranges, were very indifferent, in particular, the banana, a fruit he had not tasted before, was not at all to his liking. The water also was so bad that the crew preferred what they had brought with them, although it was very stale.

When they had received their stores on board, the anchor was weighed in order to take up a more favourable position for making a start, but, unfortunately, shortly after the ship got under weigh, a man named Flowers fell from the main-shrouds into the sea and was drowned before assistance could be rendered. This was the second death since leaving England. The next day, 3rd December, the wind was contrary, and as they were all anxious to turn their backs on the place where they had been so ungraciously received, the boats were ordered to tow the ship out of the bay, but they were at once brought to by a shot fired from the fort of Santa Cruz. A remonstrance was immediately sent ashore, and, in response, it was pleaded that the necessary permit for leaving the port had been signed, but had been delayed in its way to the fort, and till the officer in command received the paper no vessel was allowed to leave. Another attempt was afterwards made to get away, but the anchor was found to have fouled a rock, and at last, on the 7th, they were able to make a start, discharging the pilot, and bidding farewell to the guard-boat.

During the time that Cook had been prisoner on board his own ship he had not been idle, but had employed himself making observations and drawing a sketch map of the harbour. He was able to pick up a good deal of information from various sources,

particularly from the pilot, and Banks and Solander, by joining a broom-cutting party on one of the islands, were able to make some additions to their botanical collection.

Before leaving, they learnt that the Portuguese officer, Mr Foster, who had been of considerable service to them, had been placed under arrest by the Viceroy in consequence.

On 9th December they met with some bad weather and lost their foretop-gallant mast, but the rough handling they got was credited with improving the sailing qualities of the ship as it took some of the stiffness out of her upperworks. A meteor was seen on the 23rd, which was like a small bright cloud emitting flames and travelling rapidly westward; eventually two sharp explosions were heard and it slowly disappeared. On the same day they also observed an eclipse of the moon.

Christmas Day, for which the men had been saving up their allowances of grog, passed in the usual manner, that is to say, in considerable over-indulgence; Banks speculates in his Journal as to what might have happened if they had had bad weather, and Cook dismisses the occurrence very shortly: "The people were none of the soberest."

On the 27th they were crossing the mouth of the River Plate; the water was noticed to be very discoloured, and a good many land insects were caught in it. On 2nd January 1769, they saw shoals of red lobsters like those mentioned by Dampier and Cowley, but they were not met with in such quantities as those navigators reported.

On the 11th, the shores of Terra del Fuego were sighted, and on working closer in, the country was found to be less desolate in appearance than they had expected from Anson's description. Arriving off the entrance to the Straits of Le Maire, between Staten

Island and the mainland, they were driven back by the tide and a strong adverse wind. In endeavouring to shelter under Cape Diego they were carried past by the current, but, after considerable difficulty, managed to get through the straits in about three and a half days. Cook has left sailing directions for this passage which are followed to the present day. Banks and Solander managed to get a short time ashore on Staten Island, and returned delighted with an addition of some hundred new plants to their collection. Cook, who had his eye to the welfare of his crew, remarks: "They returned on board, bringing with them several plants and flowers, etc., most of them unknown in Europe, and in that consisted their whole value." The weather clearing up permitted Cook and Green to make a series of observations, "the first ever made so far South in America," which enabled them to fix the position of Cape Diego as 66° W., 54° 39′ S.; Wharton gives it as 65° 8′ W., 54° 40′ S.

On the 15th, they anchored in the Bay of Success, to replenish their stock of wood and water, and here met with some of the inhabitants, with whom, by means of gifts of beads and other small things, they soon established friendly relations, and three of them were persuaded to go on board the ship. Though by no means a small race of men, they were nothing like the giants that had been reported by the earlier navigators to live in this part of the globe. They had in their possession, glass, buttons, rings, canvas, brown cloth, etc., showing conclusively that they had previously had some communication with Europeans. Their clothing consisted chiefly of skins, roughly cured, and a plentiful coating of paint. The only personal property on which they appeared to set much store were their bows and arrows, which were carefully made and always kept in good order. Their staple food appeared to be seal flesh and shell-fish; their

houses, merely shelters of boughs covered with grass and leaves built to windward of a small fire.

On 16th January Messrs Banks, Solander, Buchan, Green, Monkhouse, two seamen, and Banks's two coloured servants, tried to get up the hills to see something of the surrounding country; but they found their progress much hampered by the dwarf vegetation. To add to their discomfort, it turned very cold, and a heavy snowstorm came on. Several of the party experienced the desire to sleep that is brought on by cold, and were warned against giving way to it by Dr Solander, who knew its danger, yet he was almost the first one to give in, and was with great difficulty kept awake. Mr Buchan, most unfortunately too, had a fit, and so a large fire was made at the first convenient spot, but a sailor and the two coloured men lagged behind. During the night the seaman was heard shouting and was brought in to the fire, but in the morning the other two were found frozen to death. Cook attributes their death to over-indulgence in spirits, the supply for the party having been in their charge. As they had not intended to remain away from the ship for the night, provisions ran short, and so a vulture was shot and carefully divided amongst them, each one cooking his own portion, which amounted to about three mouthfuls. At length the weather clearing up, they started back for the ship, and after some three hours they struck the beach only to find they had been no great distance away, but had described a circle, and had arrived quite close to the point from which they started. Banks notes that the vegetation was far in excess of what they had been led to expect, and that white was the dominant colour of the flowers. Wild celery and scurvy grass were collected in large quantities, and were plentifully mixed with the food as long as it was possible to preserve it in a wholesome condition. Whilst in the Bay of Success the guns

were placed in the hold, so that if bad weather was experienced in rounding Cape Horn, there would be more room on the deck for working the ship.

On 27th January Cape Horn was passed, but, owing to the prevalence of fog and the contrary direction of the wind, which prevented their approaching very closely, they were unable to fix its exact position, but the description they were able to give of its appearance, and twenty-four observations taken in the immediate neighbourhood, settled any doubts they may have had about it, and Cook places it in 55° 53′ S., 68° 13′ W., and Wharton gives the corrected position as 55° 58′ S., 67° 16′ W. Three days afterwards they reached their furthest south, according to Cook, 60° 4′ S., 74° 10′ W., and the course was then altered to West by North. The continuous and careful observations of the state of the sea, and the absence of currents during the following month, caused Cook to come to the conclusion, which he was afterwards to prove a true one, that the vast southern continent, so long supposed to be situated somewhere in this part of the globe, and by many esteemed necessary to preserve its balance, was non-existent. Banks, in his Journal, expresses his pleasure at having upset this theory, and observes: "Until we know how the globe is fixed in its position, we need not be anxious about its balance."

The weeks following the alteration of their course to the northward were uneventful, and were only marked by the occasional success of the naturalists in obtaining fresh specimens, some of which were experimented on by the cook; for instance, an albatross having been skinned and soaked in salt water all night, was stewed and served with savoury sauce, and was preferred to fresh pork; a cuttle fish of large size that had been freshly killed by the birds, and so much damaged that they were unable to classify it, was made into soup of which Banks says: "Only this I know that,

of it was made one of the best soups I ever ate." The water obtained in Terra del Fuego turned out to be very good, which was a very great boon, as one of their constant troubles and a source of great anxiety to Cook was the bad quality of the water often obtained.

Towards the end of March a change was noticed in the kinds of birds flying round the ship, some of them being recognised as species which were never known to be found far from shore, and in consequence a very sharp look-out was kept, each one being anxious to be the first to sight the land. On the night of the 24th the trunk of a tree was reported to have been seen, but when morning came there were no further visible signs. It has since been decided that they were at that time a little to the north of Pitcairn Island, afterwards the home of the mutineers of the *Bounty*; but Cook did not think himself at liberty to risk delay by making any deviation from his course, "to look for what he was not sure to find," although he thought at the time he was "not far from those islands discovered by Quiros in 1606."

On 26th March one of the marines committed suicide by jumping overboard. It seems he had misappropriated a piece of sealskin committed to his charge, and his fellow-soldiers, being indignant that such a thing should have been done by one of their cloth, made his life uncomfortable, and threatened that the matter should be formally reported by the sergeant. This was the fifth death since leaving England—none of which were owing to disease.

On 4th April, at 10.30 A.M., Mr Banks's servant, Peter Briscoe, sighted land, and the course of the ship was altered to give them a chance of inspecting it, when it was found to be one of those peculiar circular reefs existing in the South Pacific, surrounding a lagoon. As there was no anchorage, they made no attempt

to land, but were able to see from the ship that it was inhabited; some twenty-four persons who were seen through the glasses to be copper-coloured and to have black hair, were following the ship as if prepared to oppose any attempt to land. The island was covered with trees, amongst which the cocoanut palm was clearly distinguished. Cook gave it the name of "Lagoon Island"; it is one of the Low Archipelago, and is at present known as "Vahitahi." They were now in Wallis's track, and sighted islands almost every day, most of which appeared to be inhabited; but owing to the absence of safe anchorage they were unable to hold communication with the natives.

On 10th April Osnaburg Island was passed, and the next day King George's Island (Otaheite) was sighted, but owing to failure of the wind they did not get close in till the 12th; when some of the inhabitants came out to the ship in their canoes, bringing with them branches of trees, which they handed up the sides, and by signs desired they should be placed conspicuously in the rigging. This was taken to mean that friendship had been offered and accepted, and then the natives produced a good supply of commodities in the shape of vegetables and fruit, amongst the last, Banks says, there were bread-fruit, bananas, cocoanuts, and apples (a species of hog plum), and they were most acceptable to the ship after so long a time without any fresh vegetable food except the wild plants gathered in Terra del Fuego.

At 7 A.M. on the 13th they anchored in the bay described by Wallis, known by the natives as Matavai, in thirteen fathoms of water, and Cook says of his route from Cape Horn, "I endeavoured to make a direct course, and in part succeeded."

CHAPTER VIII

1769—SOCIETY ISLANDS

HARDLY had the anchor reached the bottom, when the *Endeavour* was surrounded by canoes, whose occupants were anxious to sell the supplies they had brought, consisting of fruits, raw and cooked fish, and a pig; but as the price asked for the last was a hatchet, an article that was scarce on board, it was not purchased. When all was made safe, a party went ashore, and was well received by the natives, but those who had been to the place previously with Wallis, in the *Dolphin*, reported that all those who were then said to be chiefs were keeping in the background. The next day, however, two men of evident rank came on board ship, and being invited down into the cabin, went through the following ceremony as described by Banks: "Each singled out his friend; one took the captain, and the other chose myself. Each took off a part of his clothes, and dressed his friend with what he took off; in return for this, we presented them with a hatchet and some beads." An invitation was then given by the chiefs to their new friends to visit the shore, and at once accepted. On landing, the party were escorted to a long building, and were introduced to an old man whom they had not seen before, who presented Cook with a cock, and Banks with a hen, and each with a piece of cloth of native manufacture. The present which Banks gave in return, was his large laced silk neckcloth and a linen handkerchief. After this, they

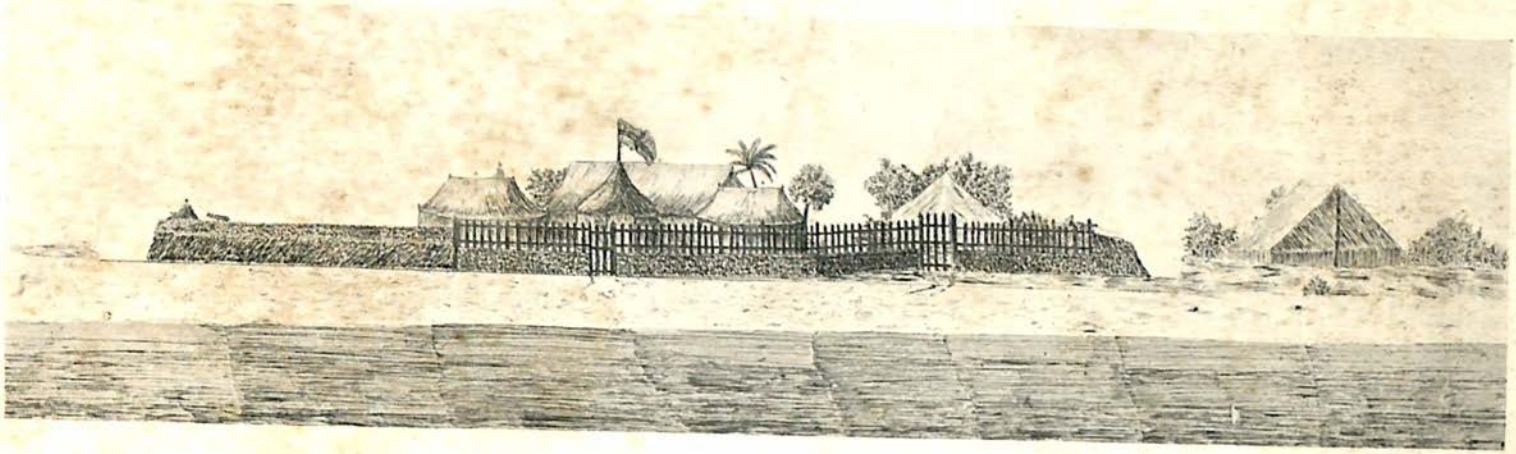
were permitted to stroll about, and received many tokens of amity, in the shape of green boughs from the people, and were then entertained at a banquet; the principal dishes being fish and bread-fruit. Whilst at dinner, Solander had his pocket picked of an opera-glass, and Dr Monkhouse lost his snuff-box. As soon as the loss was made known, one of their friends, whom they had nicknamed Lycurgus, drove off all the people, striking them and throwing at them anything he could lay his hands on. He offered the victims of the robbery some pieces of cloth as compensation, and when these were refused, extended his offer to everything he possessed. He was made to understand that all that was required was the return of the stolen articles, and after a time, the snuff-box and the case of the glass were returned, and then the glass itself.

During the whole stay of the *Endeavour* at the island, they had the greatest difficulty in preventing the natives from stealing, at which accomplishment, says Cook, they were "prodigious expert." On the whole they were very well satisfied with their first visit ashore, and it was thought to augur well for the carrying out their plans for the observations of the Transit of Venus. In order to lessen the chances of disagreement arising in trading, and to enable him to have some control over the prices, Cook ordered that one person only should conduct the purchase of supplies for the ship, and appointed Mr Banks to the position, as he had shown great aptitude for dealing with the natives. At the same time, he also ordered that every means was to be taken to cultivate the friendship of the islanders, and that they were to be treated "with every imaginable humanity."

The next day they again went ashore and selected a site for a camp on the eastern point of the bay, to which the name of Point Venus was given, the longitude being, according to Cook, 149° 31′ W., and according to

Wharton, 149° 29′. Lines were traced for boundaries, and Mr Banks's largest tent was pitched, then, having placed a guard in charge, the remainder of the party went for a walk of inspection through some of the surrounding country. They passed through some woods that Mr Hicks had been prevented from exploring the day before, and Mr Banks had the good fortune to bring down three ducks with one shot, and it was hoped that this would impress the natives with a due respect for the white man's weapons. On their road back to the camp they were alarmed by the sound of a musket shot, and hurrying on they found that, during their absence, one of the sentries had been pushed over and his musket stolen. The midshipman who was in command ordered his men to fire, and the thief had been shot, but the musket had not been recovered. All the natives ran away except one, whom Cook calls Awhaa, and whom Mr Molineaux, who had been out in the *Dolphin*, recognised as being a man of some authority. Through him, an attempt was made to arrange matters, but, though they landed again the next day, the natives were very shy. However, the two chiefs who had first made friends with Cook and Banks, and to whom they had given the names of Lycurgus and Hercules, came again on board the ship, each bringing a present of a pig and bread-fruit, and they concluded that as Hercules's present was the larger, he was the richer and therefore the more important chief.

On this day Mr Buchan, the artist, had another epileptic fit, which was unfortunately fatal. It was at first intended to bury him on land, but in order to run no risk of offending against any of the customs or superstitions of the natives, it was decided to take the body some distance out to sea. Cook, in referring to his death, says: "He will be greatly missed in the course of this voyage."



FORT VENUS.

From a drawing in Indian Ink, by James Cook. Now in the British Museum.

[*To face p.* 117.

In the afternoon, the ship was brought up into such a position as to command the site of the proposed camp, and as there was to be an eclipse of one of Jupiter's satellites, Cook and Green went ashore for the night, to try to secure an observation, but the weather was unpropitious, and they were not successful.

The next thing was to put the camp in a state of defence. The north and south sides were protected by a bank 4 feet 6 inches high on the inside, having a ditch 10 feet wide and 6 feet deep on the outside. The west side, facing the bay, had a 4 feet bank, crowned by a palisade, with no ditch, and the east side, on the bank of the river, was protected by a double row of water casks. The armament consisted of two carriage guns on the weakest or east side, and six swivel guns, two on each of the other sides. The garrison was forty-five men, including civilians, and Cook considered it was practically impregnable. In the MSS. department at the British Museum, there is a pen and ink sketch and plan of the fort, drawn by Cook himself, which agrees much better with the description than the engraving of Parkinson's drawing published in the "History of the Voyage." The natives appear at first to have been somewhat disturbed by these preparations, some of them even leaving the bay, but as time passed without any dreadful results, they took courage and returned.

When the fort was completed the instruments were landed to be put in the required positions and prepared for their work, and the following morning the quadrant, which had not been removed from the case in which it had been packed in London, was found to be missing, although a sentry had been stationed within five yards of it the whole night. On enquiry being made, it was soon elicited that the thief had been seen making off with it, and Banks, his native friend, and one or two Englishmen at once started in pursuit, closely followed

by Cook and a party of marines. After a long chase the quadrant was recovered, but some of the smaller portions were found to be missing; after some further delay these were returned in a case belonging to a horse pistol which had been stolen from Banks, and soon afterwards the pistol itself was returned, and they were able to go back to the camp. On their arrival they found that Cook's friend, Dootahah, or Hercules as they had called him, had been detained as a hostage, so he was at once released to the great delight of the islanders, who had evinced great alarm when they saw an armed party go into the woods. Dootahah, to show his gratitude for his release, sent a present of two hogs to Cook, for which he refused to receive anything in return, but, second thoughts afterwards seeming best, he sent a man to ask for an axe and a shirt, and to say that he was going away, and would not be back for ten days.

As the supplies of vegetables and fruit offered for sale had been decreasing in quantity, it was thought better to refuse the return present, in hopes that he would apply for it in person, and then some settled arrangement as to a regular market might be made, but as he again sent some one else, word was returned to him that Cook and Banks would bring it to him the following day. For fear that the promise might be forgotten, Dootahah again sent his man, and Cook and Banks started off in the pinnace on the visit. On their arrival they were received by a large crowd, which was kept in order by a man in an immense turban, armed with a long white stick, "which he applied to the people with great judgment and relish." The party were conducted to a large tree and very graciously received by Dootahah, who immediately asked for his axe, which was presented to him together with a shirt and a piece of broadcloth fashioned into a boat cloak. He at once put on the cloak and gave the shirt to the man with the stick. Refreshments were then served, and they were afterwards entertained with dancing and

wrestling. Dootahah then accompanied them back to the ship, taking with him supplies for dinner; and when it became known that he was on board, trading was at once resumed.

One morning shortly afterwards, Banks received a message from his friend Taburai (Lycurgus), to say that he was very sick, and he wished to see him. He complained of having been poisoned by something given to him by one of the sailors. Banks made a few enquiries, and a small parcel was brought to him, which, being opened, was found to contain tobacco. It seemed that he had noticed some of the sailors chewing, and had asked for a quid, which was given to him, and he had bitten off a piece and swallowed it. Banks prescribed large draughts of cocoanut milk, which soon rendered him convalescent.

Flies were a terrible pest, they got into everything, and when the artists were at work they ate off the colours almost as fast as they were laid on. Tar and molasses were tried as a trap for them, but the natives stole the mixture and used it as ointment for sores. They were particularly struck by the dexterity of the natives in their favourite pastime of surf-riding; swimming out with a piece of board they would mount it and come in on the crest of the waves; and Banks says he does not believe that any European could have lived amongst the breakers in the way they did, and he especially admired the manner in which they timed the waves and dived beneath on their way out from the shore.

A blacksmith's forge had been set up at the camp, and the natives were continually bringing old iron to be made into axes; and old axes to be repaired. This was always done for them when it did not interfere with other work, and it was noticed that some of these old axes were not of English manufacture, and it appeared very unlikely that they had been obtained from the *Dolphin*. At length it was ascertained that since her

visit two ships had anchored off the east coast of the island, and it was concluded from the description the natives gave of the flags that they were Spanish, but on the arrival of the *Endeavour* at Batavia they were able to identify them as the French ships commanded by M. de Bougainville, whose crews were suffering very severely from scurvy at that time.

The supply of fresh meat was running very short, so a visit was paid to Dootahah to see if arrangements could be made for a further quantity. The visitors were received in a most friendly manner by him and a large party of his people. As it was getting rather late for a return to the ship by daylight, they determined to remain all night, and as a consequence nearly every one found that they had lost some of their property. Cook's stockings were stolen from under his head, where he had placed them for greater safety. Perhaps by way of some compensation for their losses they were entertained during the night to a concert. The orchestra consisted of three drummers and four flautists, the latter performing on flutes having four holes, into one of which they blew with their nostrils. Cook's criticism of the performance is hardly complimentary, he says: "The music and singing were so much of a piece that I was very glad when it was over." They waited till about noon the next day, in hopes to secure some meat and the return of the things that were stolen, but were disappointed, though Dootahah promised he would bring all to the ship—"a promise we had no reason to expect he would fulfil."

The important day was now rapidly approaching on which the event they had travelled so many thousand miles to observe was to take place, and everything was in readiness. In order to diminish as much as possible the risk of disappointment through local atmospheric disturbance, Cook sent a party to Eimeo, or York Island as he names it, and a second one to the south-eastern

part of Otaheite, as far to the east of Point Venus as they could conveniently get. The first party consisted of Lieutenant Gore, Messrs Banks, Sporing and Monkhouse, and the second of Lieutenant Hicks, Messrs Clerke and Pickersgill, Master's-Mates, and Mr Saunders, Midshipman. Mr Green provided the necessary instruments.

At Fort Venus the instruments had been in position since 11th May, and everything was in good working order. The astronomical clock was set up in the large tent, being placed in a strong wooden frame, made for that purpose at Greenwich, and was then planted in the ground as firmly as possible and fenced round to guard against accidental disturbance. Twelve feet away the Observatory was placed, comprising the telescopes on their stands, the quadrant fixed securely on the top of a large cask of wet sand firmly set in the ground, and the journeyman clock. The telescopes used by Cook and Green were the two reflecting ones made by Mr J. Short.

"The 3rd of June," says Cook, "proved as favourable to our purposes as we could wish. Not a cloud to be seen the whole day and the air was perfectly clear, so that we had every advantage we could desire in observing the whole passage of the Planet Venus over the Sun's Disk. We very distinctly saw the atmosphere or Dusky Shade round the body of the Planet, which very much disturbed the time of contact, particularly the two internal ones. Dr Solander observed as well as Mr Green and myself and we differ'd from one another in observing the times of contact much more than could be expected. Mr Green's telescope and mine were of the same magnifying power, but that of the Doctor was greater than ours. It was nearly calm the whole day, and the thermometer exposed to the sun about the middle of the day rose to a degree of heat we have not before met with."

In the report to the Royal Society, published in the

"Philosophical Transactions," he also refers to the great heat:

"Every wished for favourable circumstance attended the whole of the day, without one single impediment excepting the heat, which was intolerable; the thermometer which hung by the clock and was exposed to the sun, as we were, was one time as high as 119°."

This report is accompanied by diagrams illustrating the appearance of the different contacts and the effects of the penumbra. Cook thought that Solander saw the penumbra better than either he or Green. It was estimated at about seven-eighths of the diameter of the planet, and was visible to Cook throughout the whole of the Transit.

The times of the Transit as taken by Mr Green were as follows:

The first external contact.	$9^{h.}\ 25'\ 42''$ A.M.
,, ,, internal contact.	$9^{h.}\ 44'\ 4''$ A.M.
,, second internal contact	$3^{h.}\ 14'\ 8''$ P.M.
,, ,, external contact	$3^{h.}\ 22'\ 10''$ P.M.

The two other parties were equally successful, and at times Mr Banks was able to employ himself most usefully in trading with the natives with whom he soon got on friendly terms. After a time he was compelled to decline further business, as they had purchased quite as much as it was possible for them to take away in the boats. He was also very successful in his botanical enquiries, obtaining several plants that he had not seen in Otaheite.

Whilst the officers of the expedition were employed in the important duty of taking these observations, some of the crew broke into the store and stole a considerable quantity of the large nails that were used as a medium of trade with the islanders. One man was found with seven in his possession, and after careful enquiry was

sentenced to two dozen lashes, which seems to have been the severest sentence meted out by Cook to any of his men during the voyage. The sentence was duly carried out, and though it was well known that more than one was concerned in the robbery, he refused to implicate any one else, and suffered in silence.

The King's Birthday being on the 5th June, Cook entertained several of the chiefs at dinner, and the health of "Kilnargo," the nearest they could get to King George, was toasted with great gusto; and by some of them was repeated so often that the result was disaster to themselves. One of the presents received from the chiefs was a dog, which they were informed was good to eat, and after some discussion it was handed over to the tender mercies of a man named Tupia, who had made himself very useful, and who afterwards accompanied them on their voyage. He first of all smothered it with his hands, and having drawn it, wrapped it in leaves and baked it in a native oven. With some little hesitation it was tasted, and met with general approval. Cook says: "Therefore we resolved for the future never to despise dog flesh;" and in another place he says they put dog's flesh "next only to English lamb." These dogs were bred for eating, and lived entirely on vegetable food, and both Cook and Banks appear to have had considerable doubts if all dogs would have been equally good.

On one occasion the camp was visited by a chief named Oamo, the husband of Oborea, a woman who was looked upon by Wallis, at the time of his visit, as queen of the island, but who had, in some way that Cook could not understand, fallen from her high position. She was at this time separated from Oamo, and it seemed to have been no unusual thing for married people to choose another partner; and though Oborea was living with her second choice, the fact appeared to have nothing to do with her loss of status.

Oamo was accompanied by a youth, his son, who was carried on men's shoulders, and at whose appearance all the natives immediately uncovered their bodies down to the waist. This was a mark of the greatest respect, and the travellers were informed that this youth was the king of the whole island.

The main object of their stay at Otaheite having been satisfactorily attained, steps were taken for a further prosecution of their voyage; the ship was careened, her bottom scraped, examined, and found to be quite free from worm, but the boats had suffered, particularly the long boat, which had to have a new bottom put in. She had been varnished only, whilst the other boats which had been painted with white lead had not suffered so much. The ship's stores were overhauled, and she was fitted for sea. Whilst these preparations were going on, Cook and Banks made a circuit of the island in the pinnace, proceeding by the east side, for the purpose of examining and sketching the coast. Several good anchorages were found between the reefs and the mainland, having from sixteen to twenty-four fathoms of water, and good holding ground. The place where the two ships, that were afterwards found to have been De Bougainville's, had anchored and watered, was pointed out, but no remains by which they could be identified were found. The south-east portion of the island was almost divided from the mainland, the junction being a narrow marshy isthmus about two miles in width, over which the natives were able to drag their canoes with but little difficulty. On the south side of the island one of the large burying places, such as had already excited their curiosity, was seen. It was by far the most extensive one on the island, and is described by Cook as

"a long square of stonework built pyramidically; its base is 267 feet by 87 feet; at the Top it is 250 feet by 8 feet. It is built in the same manner as we do steps

leading up to a sun-dial or fountain erected in the middle of a square, where there is a flite of steps on each side. In this building there are 11 of such steps; each step is about 4 feet in height, and the breadth 4 feet 7 inches, but they decreased both in height and breadth from the bottom to the Top. On the middle of the Top stood the image of a Bird carved in wood, near it lay the broken one of a Fish, carved in stone. There was no hollow or cavity in the inside, the whole being filled up with stones. The outside was faced partly with hewn stones, and partly with others, and these were placed in such a manner as to look very agreeable to the eye. Some of the hewn stones were 4 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 4 inches, and 15 inches thick, and had been squared and polished with some sort of an edge tool. On the east side was, enclosed with a stone wall, a piece of ground in form of a square, 360 feet by 354, in this, was growing several cypress trees and plantains. Round about this Morie was several smaller ones, all going to decay, and on the Beach, between them and the sea, lay scattered up and down, a great quantity of human bones. Not far from the Great Morie, was 2 or 3 pretty large altars, where lay the scull bones of some Hogs and Dogs. This monument stands on the south side of Opooreanoo, upon a low point of land about 100 yds. from the sea. It appeared to have been built many years and was in a state of decay, as most of their Mories are."

Cook was unable to obtain any satisfactory information as to these historical remains, or of the religious belief of the inhabitants of the island; but he thought that there was ground for assuming that they did believe in some Supreme Power, to whom they made peace offerings of food, etc., and they appeared to have some vague ideas of a future life.

The party returned to Point Venus, to find the refitting of the ship nearly completed, but owing to the ravages of the sea worms, the anchor stocks had to be replaced, and so Mr Banks and Dr Monkhouse utilised the spare time in making an excursion up the river on which the camp was situated. After about

nine miles, they found the sides of the valley, which had become very precipitous as they ascended, had completely closed in upon them, and the river, falling over a cliff at least 100 feet high, completely blocked any further ascent. The natives, by whom they were accompanied, said they had never been any further, and as the climb seemed very difficult, if not impossible, they were obliged to return, having learnt very little of the interior, except that the island was of volcanic origin. Charles Darwin, in 1835, made an attempt to ascend the same river, and, though he succeeded in penetrating some distance further, he describes the country as extremely difficult. He passed several places where two or three determined men could have easily held at bay many times their own number.

Some two or three of the sailors were either decoyed away from the ship and detained, or else attempted to desert, so Cook seized the persons of one or two chiefs, with the result that his men were quickly handed over to him.

During the stay of the *Endeavour*, gardens were laid out and sown with such European seeds as melons, oranges, lemons, limes, mustard, cress, etc., etc., and were very fairly successful; but the seeds that Cook had brought in sealed bottles did not turn out well.

On leaving the island, Cook records that, during their stay of three months, they had been on very good terms with the natives, and the few misunderstandings that did occur were caused either by the difficulty of thoroughly explaining matters to each other, or to the inveterate habits of theft on the part of the natives—iron in any shape being simply irresistible. Several of the islanders were most anxious to go away with the ship, and at the urgent request of Banks, Cook consented to take one named Tupia, who has been mentioned before as having made himself very useful, and who was able

to understand them fairly well from having been so much with them. He was supposed to be of priestly rank, and was accompanied by a boy as servant.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock on 13th July, the *Endeavour* made sail from Otaheite for some other islands of the group, and, on the 17th, anchored inside the reef on the north-west of Huaheine. Banks, Solander, Monkhouse, and Tupia accompanied Cook ashore, and a ceremonial, presumed to be a sort of treaty of peace, was gone through, in which presents were exchanged between Tupia and some of the natives, and then the party were allowed to go wherever they liked. Of this ceremony Cook says:

"It further appear'd that the things which Tupia gave away, was for the God of this people, as they gave us a hog and some cocoanuts for our God, and thus they have certainly drawn us in to commit sacrilege, for the Hog hath already received sentence of Death and is to be dissected to-morrow."

When the introductory ceremony was completed, Cook set about a hurried survey, and Dr Monkhouse organised a market, but at first was not very successful; however, when the natives understood that the stay of the ship would be very short they managed to produce a fair supply of the usual trade, such as bananas, cocoanuts, yams, etc. The flora and fauna were found to be almost identical with those of Otaheite, excepting that the men were rather lighter in colour, and were certainly not so addicted to thieving. As a memorial of his visit, Cook presented the chief with a plate bearing the following inscription: "His Britannick Majesty's Ship, *Endeavour*, Lieutenant Cook, Commander, 16th July, 1769, Huaheine." This plate was accompanied by "some medals, or counters of the English coins, struck in 1761, and other presents"; the recipient promising that he would never part with them.

After leaving Huaheine the expedition made for

Ulietea (Raiatea), where they landed on the 21st, and after a ceremony similar to that performed by Tupia at the former island, the English Jack was hoisted and possession taken of the whole group of islands in the name of His Britannic Majesty.

Cook describes the anchorage as extending almost the whole length of the island, defended from the sea by a reef of coral rocks, and capable of holding any number of vessels in perfect security. Tupia turned out to be most useful as a pilot; he showed great knowledge of the localities, and having sent a diver down to ascertain the exact draught of the ship whilst at Huaheine, he was particularly careful that, if he could help it, she never went into less than five fathoms of water. He had evidently had considerable experience in navigating these waters in canoes, boats of whose construction and sailing qualities Cook speaks in the very highest terms. Banks remarks at this time, "we have now seen 17 islands in these seas, and have landed on five of the most important of these; the language, manners, and customs agreed most exactly."

Being detained by an adverse wind near the island Ataha, Cook sent a boat under the command of the Master, who was accompanied by Mr Banks and Dr Solander, to sound the entrance through the reef, ascertain the depth of water and nature of the ground at the anchorage, and to try and enter into communication with the inhabitants. They remained away all night, returning the next evening, and reported that they had found a good harbour with from sixteen to twenty-five fathoms of water and good holding ground. The natives had also proved willing to trade, and they brought back two hogs, a few fowls, and large quantities of plantains and yams.

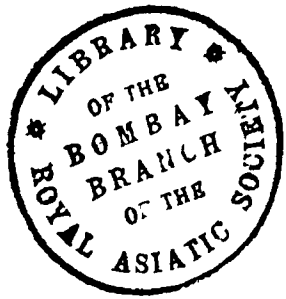
Finding the water was coming in rather badly in the fore sail-room and powder-room, Cook put into the west side of the island to repair, and at the same

time took in more ballast as the ship was too light to carry sail upon a wind. Whilst the crew were employed in putting things to rights, he went to the northwards to survey in the pinnace with Banks and Solander. Calling in at one place, near a village, they were well received and entertained with music and dancing, but Cook's verdict was that "neither their Musick or Dancing were at all calculated to please a European." A sort of farce was also acted, but it was so short they could gather nothing from it, still it "shewed that these people have a notion of Dramatick Performances." Some of the visitors saw another play the next day which they understood was a description of a war between two of the islands, but it was not very intelligible to them.

During the whole of the stay in the Society Group they had been very well off for fresh food, and in consequence their sea stores had been but little called upon.

Jarvis, in his "History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands," says that with Cook "a silence in regard to the maritime efforts of his predecessors is observable throughout his journals;" and as a proof that he traded on the knowledge of others, he remarks that when at Otaheite, he made enquiries as to whether there were any islands to the north; and afterwards evinced no surprise when he discovered them. Cook in his journals constantly shows that he compares his knowledge with that of others of which he had any records; and that he made enquiries at Otaheite as to there being any islands to the north is undoubtedly true. It is also true that he enquired if there were any to the east, south, or west, and no doubt he made the same enquiries wherever and whenever it was possible for him to do so, for he would not have considered himself fit for the position he held had he neglected such a very ordinary, common-sense proceeding. It is said

that Tupia was able to enumerate about one hundred and fifty islands that he knew of in the immediate vicinity of Otaheite, and in the British Museum is a nicely executed sketch map, drawn by Cook from Tupia's descriptions. On it are some sentences in the Otaheitan language.


LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER IX

1769-1770—NEW ZEALAND

LEAVING the Society Islands on 9th August they found themselves on the 14th off the Island of Ohetiroa (Rurutu), one of the Austral Group, and the pinnace went ashore with Lieutenant Gore, Banks, and Tupia to try and obtain information as to other islands in the neighbourhood. It returned the next day without any of the party having landed, as the conduct of the islanders appeared unfriendly, and Cook had given very strict orders for them to run no risks. They reported that a canoe came out to the pinnace, and the occupants were presented with beads, nails, etc., and then appeared to come to the conclusion that they had a right to help themselves. Some musket shots were fired over them, and by a mischance one was slightly wounded in the head, whereupon they beat a hasty retreat, and any further attempt at communication had to be abandoned. From this place a course was taken towards the south so as to strike the much-talked-of Southern Continent. They very soon got into colder weather, and the pigs and fowls they had obtained in the islands began to sicken and die. On 26th August they celebrated the anniversary of the day they sailed from England by cutting a Cheshire cheese and tapping a cask of porter, which was in excellent condition.

On the 28th they had a most unfortunate death on board; the boatswain's mate, John Reading, was

given some rum by his chief, and it is supposed that he drank it off at once, for he was shortly afterwards found to be very drunk and was taken down to his berth; but in the morning he was speechless and past recovery.

On the 29th a comet was observed in the north which Tupia was convinced was a sign that betokened ill-luck to his people.

On 2nd September Cook determined to turn again towards the north as they were in latitude 40° 22′ S.; the weather was very bad, and "having not the least visible signs of land." He hoped by this means to get better weather and intended to push to the west whenever the wind permitted him to do so. The continuous swell that they encountered, rolling up from the south, convinced him that there was no large body of land in that direction for many leagues. During the run to the south, the food, with the exception of the bread which was full of weavil, was keeping very well, and the water, which as a rule was almost the first thing to develop signs of decay, was said to be as bright and good as when put on board at Otaheite.

Towards the end of September frequent signs were noted of the neighbourhood of land, such as floating seaweed, wood, the difference in the birds flying about the ship, etc. Parkinson says that to stimulate an extra bright look-out, Cook promised a gallon of rum to the first one who should sight land. He also notes that on 1st October that "though we had been so long out at sea, in a distant part of the world, we had a roasted leg of mutton, and French beans for dinner, and the fare of Old England afforded a grateful repast." They had still seventeen sheep left.

On 7th October land was sighted, which proved to be the North Island of New Zealand, never before approached by Europeans from the east. Tasman had discovered the west coast in the year 1642 and

gave it the name of Staten Land, but he never set foot on shore. He was on board the *Heemskirk*, and called the captain of his consort, the *Zeehaan*, on board in order to consult with him about attempting a landing. The Commander of the *Zeehaan*, thinking that some canoes in their immediate neighbourhood were getting rather dangerous, sent a boat with seven hands in it to warn the senior officer. When about half-way between the two ships, the boat was charged by a canoe, and its occupants were attacked by the natives. Three of the men were killed outright and one mortally wounded, whilst the remaining three were thrown into the water and were with difficulty rescued by the boats of the *Heemskirk*. Tasman named the scene of the occurrence Massacre Bay (now Golden Bay), and making no attempt to land, sailed along the north-west coast, giving to several prominent headlands the names they retain to this day. He landed on the Three Kings Islands, but seeing a considerable number of the inhabitants apparently preparing to offer opposition, he thought it best to retire. Dalrymple had always held that this discovery of Tasman was the west coast of a southern continent, the Terra Australis Incognita, but this theory was now shattered by Cook. Some writers hold that the east coast had been visited by those persevering navigators the Portuguese, sailing from South America, and say that some of the names on the east side being Portuguese is a proof of the fact; unfortunately, a close search of the best maps does not disclose any Portuguese names.

The first one to sight the land was a boy, named Nicholas Young, and Cook in his Journal says: "The S.W. point of Poverty Bay, which I have nam'd 'Young Nick's Head' after the Boy who first saw this land." There has been some confusion about this name, for in the muster roll of the *Endeavour*, when

leaving England, it does not appear, and Admiral Wharton omits it from the list he publishes with the Journal. Parkinson, however, says he was "the Doctor's boy," probably servant to Mr Perry, as Mr Monkhouse's servant was named Jones. However, this may be, Nicholas Young was on the ship in some capacity, for, on 18th April 1769, he was entered on the muster roll as A.B. in the place of "Peter Flower, D.D.," *i.e.* "discharged dead," and made his first appearance the following day. He afterwards attached himself to Mr Banks, and was to have accompanied him in the *Resolution*, had not Mr Banks's share in that voyage fallen through; his name appears on her books amongst Mr Banks's supernumeraries.

On nearing the coast a bay was discovered into which the ship sailed, and let go her anchor near the mouth of a small river, not far from the place where the town of Guisborne now stands. Plenty of smoke was seen, showing that the country was inhabited, and in the evening the pinnace and yawl were manned and armed, and a party under Cook himself landed on the east side of the river. Seeing some natives on the other bank and wishing to open communications, Cook ordered the yawl into the river to ferry some of the party across. The natives retreated, and Cook followed them up for about 300 yards to some huts, leaving four boys in the boat. Four of the Maoris seeing them apparently an easy prey, tried to steal on them, but were observed by those in the pinnace. The coxswain called to the boys to drop down the river, but the natives followed them up, and as they looked dangerous the coxswain fired over their heads; this made them halt for a moment and look round, but seeing nothing they again advanced and a second shot was fired, at which they paid no attention; one raised his spear as if to throw it at the boys in the yawl, and was at once fired on and killed; and

the others at once retreated leaving the corpse behind. As it was now getting dark Cook ordered a return to the ship.

The next morning, seeing some men near the place where they had landed the day before, Cook again went ashore with an armed party, and with Banks and Solander went forward to the brink of the river in order to try and speak with the natives. Their advance was received with a great flourish of weapons and a sort of war dance. Cook and his two companions retired to the boats, and landing the marines drew them up about two hundred yards from the river, and then advanced to it a second time with Mr Green, Monkhouse, and Tupia. The latter spoke to the natives; and, greatly to the delight of the party, it was found he could make himself understood. After a little talk, one man, unarmed, swam across the river, and was followed almost immediately by twenty or thirty more with their weapons. Presents were given to them, but they appeared dissatisfied, and were anxious to receive some arms instead. One stole Mr Green's hanger, and they all became very insolent and aggressive; and more were noticed to be preparing to cross the river. Considering that the position of his party was getting serious, and that some decisive action must be taken, Cook ordered the man who had taken the hanger, and who apparently was the leader, to be shot, whereon the remainder beat a hasty retreat.

The next day the boats rowed round the head of the bay in hopes of finding a landing-place, but the surf was too heavy. Seeing two canoes coming in from the sea, Cook determined to intercept them, make presents to the occupants, and then let them go, and in this manner convince them that he wished to be on friendly terms with them. However, as the canoes did not stop when called on, he ordered a musket to be fired over them, but this turned out to be most

unfortunate, for as soon as the natives heard the shot they seized their weapons and fiercely attacked the nearest boat, the crew being obliged to fire in self-defence, and Cook says two of the natives were killed. Banks gives the number as four, which is also the number given by the Maoris themselves. One was wounded, and three jumped overboard with the intention of swimming ashore, but were picked up by the boats and taken on board ship. They were at first very depressed, but soon recovered their spirits on finding themselves well treated; and after eating and drinking enormously, they entertained the crew with songs and dances. Cook relates this incident with evident regret, and candidly confesses that he was not justified in trying to seize the canoes, but having once committed himself, he felt obliged, for the safety of his own people, to go on to the bitter end. Banks says the day is "the most disagreeable my life has yet seen; black be the mark for it, and heaven send that such may never return to embitter future reflection."

The next morning a party was sent on shore to cut wood, and was shortly afterwards followed by Cook, Banks, Solander, Tupia, and the three captives. On landing they tried to persuade their prisoners to leave them and to join their own friends, but had great difficulty in getting them to do so, as they professed to be afraid of being eaten. At length they went off a short distance and hid in some bushes, and Cook, seeing several parties marching towards him in a threatening manner, retired to his woodcutters on the opposite side of the river. As soon as they had crossed, the natives gathered on the other bank to the number of from 150 to 200 fully armed men. Tupia was put forward to parley, and some presents were shown, and at length one man came over, and having received a present from each one of the party, rejoined his friends on the other side. Cook then thought it better to

return to the ship with the three youths, who seemed to be afraid of their countrymen. As it was intended to sail on the following morning, these men were again landed, still professing great fear, but they were soon afterwards seen walking away in apparently friendly converse with the others who had come down to meet them.

Mr Polack, who resided for some years in that part of New Zealand, gives an account in his "New Zealand," of the landing of Cook in Poverty Bay, which he gathered from the children of the natives who took part in the opposition. He says, that on first seeing the ship, they thought it was a very large bird, and they were particularly struck by the size and beauty of its wings, the sails. When they saw an unfledged young one—a boat—leave its side, filled with human figures of different colours, they thought it was a household of deities. The tribe then living in the neighbourhood were only recent arrivals, having driven out the former occupants, their leader being Te Ratu—the first man who was killed by the English. The other natives were most anxious to avenge him, but were greatly alarmed by the power their unwelcome visitors had of killing at a long distance by means of a thunderbolt. Some of them even declared that they felt ill if they were looked at fixedly by one of the white men. The deliberations on the subject of the revenge to be taken were only put a stop to by the ship leaving the bay. Mr Polack's principal informant was the son of a man who had been wounded in the shoulder by a musket ball, but who survived his wound till within a year or two of 1836, the time when the information was obtained. Before the ship left, a sort of peace was patched up by means of presents, and the dead bodies, which had remained exposed to view, apparently as a protest, were removed.

Cook describes the country as a narrow slip of low

sand, backed by well-wooded hills, rising in the interior to high mountains, on which patches of snow could be seen. That it was fairly populated was evident from the smoke rising through the trees, more especially in the valleys leading down to the bay, to which he gave the name of Poverty Bay, as they were unable to get anything they required except a small quantity of wood.

It was now determined to follow down the coast to the southward as far as 40° or 41° S., and then, if nothing of a more encouraging nature turned up, to return along the coast again to the north. Being becalmed on the 17th, several canoes came round the ship, and some of the occupants were with but little difficulty persuaded to come on board. Some little bartering was done, but, as they had not come off prepared to trade, only clothing, arms, and paddles could be obtained. After some two or three hours the canoes went away, leaving by mistake three of their men on board. These did not seem particularly alarmed by the desertion of their friends, but made themselves comfortable, and next morning, two other canoes having approached the ship, they got a passage ashore. As the ship made its way south, a good many natives were seen watching her progress, and several patches of cultivated ground were noticed.

After passing the Island of Portland, so called from a fancied resemblance to its English namesake, they were followed by four canoes in a threatening manner, and, as Cook thought he would have to send out his boats to sound, he was anxious to get rid of them. A musket was fired without producing any effect, so a gun was got ready and discharged a little wide of them, upon which the Maoris shook their spears in defiance, but thought it wiser to move off; and the *Endeavour* soon afterwards came to anchor in a large bay which was named after Sir E. Hawke. The

country was very hilly, yet pleasant and fertile in appearance; but owing to bad weather they had very little opportunity of seeing it. They were visited by canoes, and succeeded in purchasing some fish, which proved not to be in very good condition, but as it was the beginning of business relations with the natives, no great attention was paid to its quality. Whilst this attempt at trading was going on, a large armed war canoe came alongside the ship, and the occupants were presented with some cloth and other gifts that were thought likely to be acceptable. Cook noticed that one of the warriors had on a garment made of some black skin something like a bear, and wished to purchase it. He offered a piece of red cloth in exchange, and the owner of the cloak took it off as if prepared to make a deal, but would not surrender it till he had the red cloth in his hands; when it was given him the canoe was pushed off from the ship—and Cook lost both his cloak and his cloth. Soon after, some more canoes came up with fish for sale, and, as Tupia's servant, a boy named Tayeto, was handing some things over the side of the ship, he was seized by the New Zealanders, who refused to give him up. Every means for his recovery was resorted to without proceeding to extremities, but was of no avail; at length, orders were reluctantly given to fire on the canoe in which he was, and several of her crew were hit, two being killed; the boy, seeing his chance, jumped into the water, swam to the ship, and was picked up by one of her boats. In memory of the attempted abduction, the point of land near which it occurred was named Cape Kidnapper. As there appeared no probability of meeting with a good harbour, and the face of the country became less promising, Cook, on reaching a point he named Cape Turnagain, in 40° 34′ S., altered the course to the north to see if anything better could be found in that direction.

When off the Isle of Portland, a canoe with five men in it came alongside, and the occupants were invited on board; two appeared to be chiefs, and the other three, servants. They were so well treated that they ignored all hints about going ashore, made themselves at home, and stayed all night; the two chiefs would neither eat nor drink, but the other three tried everything that was offered to them; they were at length landed near Cape Table. Several more canoes were seen making for the ship, but, as the wind was very favourable, Cook would not delay. After passing a remarkable headland, which received the name of Gable End Foreland, they anchored in a small bay, and, as the natives appeared inclined to be friendly, they landed to obtain water; but the surf was so heavy that they could not get full casks on board, and so had to be content with only a small supply. A few sweet potatoes were purchased, but it was too early in the season for them. Banks and Solander added very considerably to their collection of birds and plants, and a plentiful supply of wild celery was obtained for the use of the crew. Cook says that as this bay "hath nothing to recommend it, I shall give no description of it."

It was noticed that all the canoes seen along this part of the coast were very well made, far in advance of anything they had seen before; the grotesque carving and ornamental work were most admirably executed. The dresses worn by the natives consisted chiefly of two cloak-shaped garments, one worn round the loins and the other over the shoulders; they were made of a material like hemp, and amongst those of the highest rank were very fine. Some of the garments resembled those worn by the South American Indians, and were as fine or finer in texture than those purchased by Banks at Rio de Janeiro for thirty-six shillings, which he had thought to be very cheap. Some of the cloaks were ornamented with dog-skins; these animals were

used as food, and, with rats, were the only quadrupeds seen.

Whilst ashore here collecting, Banks and Solander discovered a large natural arch which the former describes as the most magnificent surprise he had ever met with. It was sketched by Parkinson, and is engraved in his Journal, and in the MSS. Room at the British Museum is a very good pen and ink drawing of it by Cook, which must have taken him some considerable time to complete.

Working up the coast they were visited by some natives who informed them that water could be obtained in a bay from which they had previously been driven by a contrary wind. They now succeeded in entering, and found fair anchorage in eleven fathoms, and although the weather was unfavourable they managed to obtain a good supply of water, some wood, and a boatload of scurvy grass and wild celery. They were also moderately successful in trading, for though they only obtained a few curiosities, some fish, and a few sweet potatoes, Cook thinks they were offered all that could be spared. Some of them ascended one of the neighbouring hills in hopes of getting a view of the surrounding country, but the prospect was blocked by higher hills behind. These hills were for the most part barren except for a few ferns, but the valleys between appeared well timbered, and samples of twenty different kinds of trees were obtained, all of which were unknown in Europe.

On 31st October they rounded East Cape, and following the coast, which now trended more to the west, they saw a great number of villages and patches of cultivation; some of the last appearing to have been freshly ploughed. They had noticed several large fires near Hawke's Bay, which they now concluded had been made for the purpose of clearing the ground. The whole aspect of the country was changing for the

better, and showed every sign of increased fertility; but the inhabitants did not seem more peaceably inclined. Five canoes came out to meet the ship, the inmates fully armed and appearing bent on mischief, and as Cook was very busy at the time he ordered a musket to be fired over them, in hopes to keep them off, but it only caused them to stop for a hurried consultation, without any sign of retreat, so a round shot was sent over their heads which at once solved the difficulty, and they hurriedly retired. The place was given the name of Cape Runaway. An island in the north-west was named White Island; it is an active volcano, but at that time must have been quiescent, as no remark as to its nature is to be found. Cook again notes that they "saw a great deal of cultivated land, laid out in regular enclosures; a sure sign that the country is both fertile and well inhabited."

Following up the coast they met with forty or fifty canoes, from which lobsters, conger-eels, mussels, and other fish were purchased, and trading seemed to be satisfactorily established, when one of the natives took a fancy to Cook's sheets, which were being towed overboard; they were in the wash. He refused to give them up, so muskets were discharged over the canoes and they all fled—but Cook did not recover his sheets. Near here the first double canoe was seen, and some information was obtained from its occupants, but they did not appear altogether friendly, for they "staid about the ship till it was dark, and then left us; but not before they had thrown a few stones." From near Whale Island, where a good anchorage was found, they saw a mountain which Cook named Mount Edgecombe, after the sergeant in command of the marines. It is a high round mountain which forms a conspicuous landmark on both sides of the island. The double canoe again came out to them and kept alongside the ship for some time, and a long conversation was held

with Tupia; but at length the old game of stone throwing was recommenced, so a musket was discharged wide of them, and they decided to drop astern. During the day they had noticed several small villages perched on difficult eminences and surrounded by palisades, which Tupia had declared to be "Mories or places of worship," but says Cook, "I rather think they are places of retreat or strongholds, where they defend themselves against the attack of an enemy, as some of them seem'd not ill design'd for that purpose." The truth of Cook's surmise has been amply proved in the New Zealand War, when British soldiers, in this very neighbourhood, had good cause to recognise that the Maori Pah was "not ill designed for that purpose."

Cook unfortunately missed the Harbour of Tauranga —the only safe port on the east coast between Auckland and Wellington for ships of any size.

A Transit of Mercury was to occur on 9th November, which, under favourable conditions, would be visible throughout its whole course in this part of the world, so Cook desired to obtain an observation for the purpose of checking his longitude. He put into a bay which looked promising, and three canoes came out to meet them. A sailor, thinking that they wanted to come on board, threw out a line to them, but the only recognition he received was a couple of spears thrown at him; however the discharge of a musket caused them to sheer off. A large inlet becoming visible, Cook made for it, accompanied by several more canoes which had appeared, and anchored in seven fathoms. The canoes then left them for the night, the occupants saying that they would return in the morning and make an attack on the ship, so an extra bright look-out was kept; and very fortunately, for, hoping to find an easy prey, the Maoris returned sooner than they had intimated, but finding they were discovered they had to retire disappointed. Between five and six in the morning

several canoes came out, containing from 130 to 140 men, who after parading about for some three hours, "sometimes trading with us, and at other times Tricking of us," went off after having had a few shots fired over them to expedite their movements.

Cook and Mr Molineux, the Master, went off with two boats to take soundings, and to search for a more convenient berth. Some canoes came to meet them, and they were invited to land, but as the natives were all fully armed, Cook contented himself with doing a little trade, and proceeded with his exploration. A very suitable anchorage was found in what is now known as Cook's Bay, and the next day the ship was brought up to it. The natives came out as usual, but their behaviour was much improved; two of them came on board and were hospitably received, presents being given them and some ready dressed fish purchased from them. They seemed at last to have gained their confidence, for they were able to buy plenty of fish, which Cook describes as a kind of "Mackrell as good as ever was eat." Banks says there were two sorts, one exactly like the English mackerel. They obtained really more than they could consume, but Cook ordered all to be bought that was offered, in order to create a good impression, and large quantities were salted down. Parkinson makes a note of the cray-fish, which he states were very fine and plentiful; they were caught by the women who dived for them in the surf on the rocks. Wood, good water, and plenty of wild celery were also obtained.

On the 9th Cook and Green went ashore with the necessary instruments to observe the Transit of Mercury. The day was most suitable, not a cloud to be seen, which was particularly fortunate, as they had not had a clear day for a long time. Mr Green observed the commencement as Cook was engaged in taking the sun's altitude to ascertain the time. Wharton thinks

that it had occurred a little earlier than they expected, and in reality Cook was taken by surprise. Green remarks: "Unfortunately for the seamen, their look-out was on the wrong side of the sun. The end was likewise as grossly mistaken." The times given by Cook are:

Commencement . . .	$7^h\ 20'\ 58''$	
Green's Observations—		
Egress. internal contact	$12^h\ 8'\ 58''$	afternoon.
,, external contact	$12^h\ 9'\ 55''$	
Cook's Observations—		
Egress. internal contact	$12^h\ 8'\ 45''$	afternoon.
,, external contact	$12^h\ 9'\ 43''$	

Whilst these observations were being taken, two large canoes and three small ones went out to the ship—one having as many as forty-seven people on board. They at first seemed inclined to be hostile, but after a talk with some others that were there selling fish, they appeared to change their mind, and began to trade their arms, etc. One having received a piece of cloth from Mr Gore for a cloak he was wearing, refused to complete the bargain, and instead of giving up the cloak put off from the ship, the crew of his canoe shaking their paddles in offensive defiance. Gore took up a musket and fired at the delinquent, and, it was believed, killed him. This was afterwards known to be true. When Cook heard the account of the occurrence, he expressed his strong disapproval of Mr Gore's conduct. Colonel Mundy, in "Our Antipodes," relates that he saw in 1848, an old man named Taniwha, who remembered Captain Cook's visit, and imitated his walk and the peculiar manner he had of waving his right hand to and fro, and would relate with much gusto in what a kindly manner Cook had placed his hand on the children's heads. He stated to Colonel Mundy that after the man was shot by Gore, the Maoris landed and held a consultation over the body, and at length

decided that as the dead man "commenced the quarrel by the theft of the calico, his death should not be revenged, but that he should be buried in the cloth which he had paid for with his life." Colonel Wynyard also took down this same statement from Taniwha's own lips in 1852, at which time he must have been about ninety-three years old, but Colonel Wynyard says: "His faculties were little impaired, and his great age perceptible more from a stoop and grey hairs than any other infirmity."

The next day Cook, accompanied by Banks, went up a river near where they lay for a distance of four or five miles to have a look at the country. On the eastern side it appeared very barren, but on the west it was very much better, though there were no signs of cultivation. There were plenty of wild fowl, such as ducks, curlews, and shags, some fish, and on the rocks plenty of oysters and clams. The oysters, says Banks, were "as good as ever came from Colchester, and of about the same size." A large quantity were taken on board, and Banks continues,

"were laid down under the booms, and employed the ship's company very well, who, I sincerely believe, did nothing but eat them from the time they came on board till night, by which time a large part were expended. But this gave us no kind of uneasiness, since we well knew that not the boat only, but the ship might be loaded in one tide almost, as they are dry at half ebb."

Cook thinks that the inhabitants lived on fish, and shellfish, with fern roots for bread, as very large heaps of shells were found, but no signs of any cultivation.

Cook, Banks, Solander, and some of the officers of the ship went to inspect a fortified village they had noticed on an eminence near, and were met by the inhabitants and good-naturedly conducted over the place, and shown all they expressed any wish to see.

It was built on a high promontory, whose sides were in some places quite inaccessible, in others very difficult, except on the side where it faced the narrow ridge of the hill. Here it was defended by a double ditch and bank, with two rows of pickets, the inner row being on the bank, and leaving standing room on the top for the defenders. The inner ditch was 24 feet from the bottom to the top of the bank. A stage about 30 feet high, 40 feet long, and 6 feet broad was erected inside the fence, and a second one, a few paces from it, was placed at right angles; from these the garrison were able to throw their spears and stones on to the heads of their enemies. The whole village was palisaded round with a strong picket fence running close to the edge of the hill. The entire surface of the hill-top was cut up into small squares, each levelled and surrounded by its own fence, and communicating by narrow lanes with little gateways, so that if the outer defences were forced, each square could be defended in its turn. Cook says: "I looked upon it to be a very strong and well choose Post, and where a small number of resolute men might defend themselves a long time against a vast superior force, armed in the manner as these people are." With quick eye Cook noticed the great failing of these native fortresses, that is, the want of any provision for a water supply or storage. The strength of these Pahs has since been amply proved against British arms, and the bravery with which they have been defended against superior numbers cannot be overlooked.

Previous to inspecting this fort, which had evidently been selected for description as typical of the rest, one had been seen on the summit of the pierced rock discovered by Banks and Solander, of which both Cook and Parkinson made sketches. It may be noted that Parkinson's sketch is endorsed by another hand

as being in Queen Charlotte's Sound, but that is an error, as that place had not been discovered at the time the sketch was made. In these Maori villages it was remarked that sanitary arrangements were provided such as did not, says Beckmann in his "History of Inventions," exist in the palace of the King of Spain at that time.

After obtaining a large supply of wild celery and another boat-load of oysters the *Endeavour* left Mercury Bay, so called from the observation taken of that planet, and not after the name of the ship on which he did not serve, for the north; but before sailing, the name of the ship with the date and other particulars were cut on a tree near the place where they had watered, and formal possession was taken of the country in the name of King George.

Large quantities of iron sand had been noticed here, evidently brought down by every little stream that ran into the bay; but the use of this was quite unknown to the natives, who preferred anything to iron tools or spikes which had been such valuable media of exchange elsewhere.

Running along the land as closely as the wind would permit, they hauled round Cape Colville, named after the Captain of the *Northumberland*, and steered to the south-west into "the Entrance of a Straight, Bay or River," and there anchored for the night, and at daylight, the wind being favourable, they weighed and stood on, keeping along the east side. Soon after making sail three large canoes came off, and several of the occupants came on board at the first invitation; they appeared to have heard of the ship and of the way their countrymen had been treated. Each had a present given him and after about an hour's stay went off well satisfied with their reception. After running about 5 leagues on the same course, the water shoaled to about 6 fathoms, so they anchored,

and two boats were sent out to sound, one to one side of the ship and the other to the other—the channel being here about 11 miles wide. When the boats returned with their reports, Cook decided not to risk the ship any further, as no greater increase of depth had been found than 3 feet. At daylight the next day he set out with the pinnace and long boat, accompanied by Banks, Solander and Tupia, and found the inlet ended in a river about 9 miles from where the ship was anchored. This river was named the Thames, from a fancied resemblance to its English namesake. They saw some villages amongst the mud-banks near the mouth, and, landing at one, were well received by the inhabitants, but did not make any long stay, as they wished to take advantage of the flood tide which was setting in "as strong as it does in the River Thames below bridge." They pushed on till about noon, when, finding very little alteration in the appearance of the country, and being now some 14 miles from the mouth, they landed to inspect some large trees, such as they had seen several times previously, but had had no opportunity of examining closely. One was carefully measured and found to be 19 feet 6 inches girth at 6 feet from the ground, and by means of Cook's quadrant, the lowest branch was ascertained to be 89 feet from the ground. It was perfectly straight and tapered very little, and there were some seen that were even larger. This tree is known as the Black Pine, to the Maoris as Matai, and to the botanist as Podocarpus.

Going down the river again, their friends of the morning came out to meet them, and "traffick'd with us in the most friendly manner imaginable, until they had disposed of the few trifles they had." As the boats got out of the river they met the flood tide and a strong breeze, had to anchor, and did not reach the ship till next morning, when, the breeze increasing

to a gale, they were compelled to strike the top gallant yards. When the gale had blown itself out, the wind was not in the right quarter, so they dropped down with the tide, anchoring when it turned. Cook went ashore with the pinnace on the west side of the bay, but found "neither inhabitants nor anything else worthy of note," and believed that the whole district was but sparsely inhabited. Whilst he was away from the ship a good many natives went off to her and traded, behaving themselves very well indeed, with the exception of one man, who was caught making off with the half-hour glass, and Mr Hicks, who was on deck at the time, ordered him to be brought to the gangway and given a dozen with the cat. When his friends knew what this was done for, they expressed their approval, and an old man gave the culprit another beating when he got into his canoe. These natives had adorned themselves by smearing their bodies, from head to foot with red ochre and oil—a thing not seen before.

The weather, which had now become very unsettled, with strong gales and heavy squalls off the land, prevented them from approaching near enough to ascertain if the land they could see to the west consisted of islands, or was still the mainland. They anchored off a remarkable point, having several peaked rocks ranged in order on its top, and some of the men started fishing; they secured in a remarkably short time from ninety to a hundred bream, and to celebrate their success Cook named the spot Bream Head.

On 26th November some villages and cultivated spots were seen, and towards evening several canoes came off,

"some of the natives ventur'd on board; to two, who appear'd to be chiefs, I gave presents. After these were gone out of the ship, the others became so Troublesome that in order to get rid of them, we were

at the expense of two or three Musquet Balls, and one 4-pound shott, but as no harm was intended them, none they received, unless they happened to overheat themselves in pulling on shore."

The next day the canoes came out again, and the people were tolerably well behaved, but not inclined to traffic. As many as one hundred and seventy were alongside at one time, and a good many on board the ship.

Sir Piercy Brett gives his name to Cape Brett, for Cook says:

"Near one mile from this is a small high Island or Rock with a hole pierced through it like the Arch of a Bridge, and this was one reason why I gave the Cape the above name, because Piercy seem'd very proper for that of the Island."

He was one of the Lords of the Admiralty who signed Cook's appointment to the *Endeavour*. On the west side of Cape Brett a large and deep bay was seen, containing several small islands, but it did not receive any name. The town of Russell is now established near, and is said to possess one of the finest harbours in the world, into which vessels of any draught can enter in all weathers at any state of the tide. Speaking of the natives of this district, Cook says that the garments of the chiefs were of a better quality than any they had yet seen, and few of them were tattooed on the face like the ones further south. They "would not enter into friendly traffick with us, but would cheat whenever they had an opportunity."

The wind was very contrary, and after plying to windward for some time and being constantly carried back every board they made, Cook ran into the Bay of Islands again. As soon as they were anchored the canoes surrounded them, and a few of the occupants were admitted on board. To one of the chiefs a present of broadcloth was given, and they behaved

tolerably well for a time. At length some of them took a fancy to the anchor buoy and endeavoured to take it away, so several musket shots were fired, but with no effect, as they were not intended to hit them. A charge of small shot was then fired at one man, and they retired for a short distance to disperse in haste when a big gun was fired over them. A few were called back by Tupia, and showed a marked improvement in their behaviour.

After moving the ship out into deeper water, Cook, Banks, and Solander, with the pinnace and yawl, went over to an island, and as soon as they landed the Maoris left the ship and followed them, and they were quickly surrounded by some two or three hundred natives who began to behave in a most unfriendly manner. They first attempted to seize the boats, but being disappointed, tried to break in on the party, so Cook fired a charge of small shot into one of the leaders, and Banks and two of the men also fired, causing them to retire a little. A chief was leading them on again, when Dr Solander gave him a charge of shot which sent him off, and the main body hesitated. Those on the ship, seeing what was going on, fired a 4-pounder over them, and there was a general stampede. This sharp lesson —fortunately none of the natives were dangerously wounded—was taken to heart, and during the remainder of the stay there was no further unpleasantness. It is quite evident that Cook's treatment of the natives was as far as possible regulated by a thorough spirit of justice, and at this place for a second time he deals out punishment to some of his crew found committing offences against the Maoris. Three men were sentenced to a dozen lashes each, for leaving their duty, and stealing potatoes from one of the plantations.

Cook and the naturalists were able to land two or three times and inspect the country. They found it very similar to what had been met with before, and

it appeared that the number of the inhabitants was considerable, and that they were on good terms with each other, though not all under the same chief, and were inclined to be civil to their visitors, who were permitted to go over a Pah, which Cook describes as a "neat compact place and its situation well chosen. There were two or three more near unto this, but these we did not go to." A good deal of the ground was cultivated, mostly planted with sweet potatoes. A few trees of the paper-mulberry were seen, which the natives appeared to value. They made a sort of cloth with the bark like the Otaheitans, but the quantity manufactured was so small that it was only used for ornament. Tupia was instructed to obtain any information which might throw a light on the probable history of these people, and was told that some of their ancestors once went off in large canoes and discovered a country to the north-west. The passage took them a month, and only a small number returned; these said they had been to a place where the people eat hogs, using the same word as that used to designate the animal in Otaheite. Tupia asked them if they had any hogs, and they replied no. He then asked if their ancestors brought any back with them, and again received a negative reply; whereon he told them that their story must be a great lie, for their ancestors could never have been such fools as to come back without some. If there is any truth in this legend, the land discovered may have been New Caledonia, as it appears to be the only large island in the direction mentioned within reach of a canoe.

On one of their days ashore, Messrs Banks and Solander saw one of the men who had been wounded when trying to steal the ship's buoy. A ball had gone through his arm and grazed his chest; he did not seem to have any pain, and though the wound was exposed to the air, it looked perfectly healthy. They

tried to explain to him that he had had a narrow escape, of which he seemed quite sensible, and he was greatly pleased to receive a present of a musket ball like the one by which he was wounded.

Whilst working out of the bay, the wind, which was very light, dropped altogether, and the current set them towards one of the islands, but by the assistance of the boats they were just able to clear it. A journal, said to have been compiled by Mr Banks from the papers of Sydney Parkinson, says that the natives were crowding on the shore, "flourishing their weapons, exulting at our danger, and expecting us for their prey." Banks says nothing about this in his own Journal, nor is any mention of such a picturesque incident to be found elsewhere. About an hour after, seventeen fathoms was obtained with the lead, but almost immediately the ship struck on a rock; however, she at once got clear without suffering any "perceptible damage." Soundings were again taken, giving five fathoms, very soon increasing to twenty. The rock was named the Whale Rock.

Owing to the wind being either adverse or very light, the progress was slow, and they were unable to keep close in; but on 10th December they managed to get a little nearer than usual, and discovered two bays separated by a low neck of land, which was named Knuckle Point; the first bay being called Doubtless Bay and the second Sandy Bay. Of this last Cook says:

"There seems to be nothing that can induce shipping to put into it, for no country upon earth can look more barren than the land about this bay doth. It is in general low, and the soil appears to be nothing but white sand thrown up in irregular hills."

From the look of the land Cook concluded that it was here very narrow and open to the sea on the western side; a conclusion he was soon able to verify.

There were some inhabitants seen notwithstanding the desolate appearance of the place, and a few canoes unsuccessfully put off for the ship.

Mr Forster says that when the *Endeavour* was passing Doubtless Bay, M. de Surville was anchored under the land, in the *Saint Jean Baptiste*, and saw the *Endeavour*, though himself unseen. In the account of de Surville's voyage, published by the *Académie Française*, it is stated that New Zealand was not sighted till 12th December 1769, and, owing to bad weather, no anchorage was obtained till the 17th, in a bay the French named Lauriston Bay. No mention whatever is made of the *Endeavour* having been sighted, and the editor, M. L'Abbé Rochon, thinks that it is most probable that neither of the navigators knew anything of the movements of the other. De Surville mentions having lost his anchors in a place he calls Double Bay, during a storm which took place "*about* 22nd December," and may possibly be the one which Cook encountered on 28th December when off the north end of the island.

On the 13th they met with a heavy gale, which blew them out of sight of land for the first time since they had been on the coast; the main topsail was split and had to be replaced, and the next day both fore and mizzen topsails were lost, but they managed to reach shelter under a small island off Knuckle Point. At noon on the 15th the latitude was found to be 34° 6′ S., land was visible to the south-west, and as a large swell was encountered coming from the west, Cook concluded this was the northernmost point of the island, accordingly naming it North Cape.

After some days beating about against westerly winds and a strong current he ran up to the north for some distance, returning to the south on 23rd December, and the following day sighted land in the south-east, which proved to be the islands seen by Tasman, and named the Three Kings. Here Banks killed several

solan geese, which were made into a pie for Christmas Day, and he says were "eaten with great approbation; and in the evening all hands were as drunk as our forefathers used to be upon like occasions."

On the 27th Cook calculated that they were about thirty leagues west of North Cape, and in about the same latitude as the Bay of Islands; but land was not in sight, proving the correctness of his surmise as to the narrowness of that part of New Zealand. The wind now rose to such a degree that they had to bring to, under the mainsail, but it moderated a little the next day, and they ran in towards the land. Again it freshened up, and at length blew a perfect hurricane, accompanied by heavy rain and a "prodidgeous high sea." On the 30th, the sea being still very high, causing the ship to go greatly to leeward, they sighted what Cook took to be Cape Maria Van Dieman, named by Tasman, about six leagues off; and the land was seen to extend to the east and south. At noon, on the last day of the year, their position is given as "34° 42′ S., Cape Maria Van Dieman N.E. by N. about 5 leagues." Of the weather encountered here Cook says:

"I cannot help thinking but what it will appear a little strange that, at this season of the year, we should be three weeks in getting fifty leagues, for so long is it since we pass'd Cape Brett; but it will hardly be credited that in the midst of summer and in the latitude of 35° S. such a gale of wind as we have had could have hapned, which for its strength and continuance was such as I hardly was ever in before. Fortunately at this time we were a good distance from land, otherwise it would have proved fatal to us."

On 2nd January 1770 Cook was able to fix the position of Cape Maria Van Dieman, giving it as 34° 30′ S., 187° 18′ W. of Greenwich. Admiral Wharton remarks that this is extraordinarily correct, seeing that the ship was never close to the Cape, and the observa-

tions were all taken in very bad weather. The latitude is exact, and the longitude only three miles out. On the 4th Cook thought he saw an inlet or entrance to a bay, and ran in to make sure, but came to the conclusion that it was some very low land "bounded on each side by higher lands which caused the deception." In this he was mistaken, for what he saw was the entrance to Kaipara Harbour, one of the few good ones to be found on the west coast. He describes the land here as having a most desolate and inhospitable appearance, nothing to be seen but long sandhills with hardly any green thing upon them. He considered it most dangerous, and says: "If we was once clear of it, I am determined not to come so near again if I can avoid it, unless we have a very favourable wind indeed."

Soon after passing Albatross Point, on the 11th, a very high mountain was seen, "much resembling the Peak of Teneriffe," its summit covered with snow, and to it was given the name Mount Egmont. Wharton gives its height as 8,300 feet and describes it as a magnificent conical mountain surrounded on three sides by the sea. Banks says that on the sides of the hills near they could see with their glasses "many white lumps in companies which bore much resemblance to flocks of sheep." These appearances were due to a peculiar plant which Hooker calls "*Rosulia mammillaris* or an allied species," which is known in New Zealand as "vegetable sheep." Fires were also noticed on the shore, being the first sign of inhabitants seen on the west coast.

On the 14th, believing himself to be in the mouth of a large bay, the bottom of which could not be seen, Cook ran in under the southern shore, and finding it broken up into promising looking bays he determined to run into one and careen the ship, as she was by this time very foul; and he also wanted wood and

fresh water. On the 16th the ship was towed into a convenient place, now known as Ship Cove, in Queen Charlotte's Sound, and was at once visited by canoes, whose occupants, fully armed, commenced the acquaintance by "heaving a few stones against the ship." After a short conversation with Tupia some of the natives ventured on board, but did not make a long stay, and going back to their canoes paddled off. Cook, accompanied by the "gentlemen," as he usually calls the civilians, went ashore to look for water, and soon found an excellent supply, "and as to wood the land is here an entire forest." Whilst he was away the crew got out the nets, and caught about 300 lb. of fish of different kinds.

Some of the natives came off with fish which they professed to wish to trade, but it was not good, and though Cook, in hopes of opening the way to friendly relations with them, ordered it to be bought, he soon found they were more inclined to quarrel than trade; and as matters began to look threatening he determined to get rid of them, especially as the ship was in an awkward position, in case of serious disturbance, as she was already hove down for cleaning. A charge of small shot was fired at one of the greatest offenders and had the desired effect of keeping them at a respectful distance, and taught them in future to behave with more consideration.

The members of the expedition had for some time suspected that the natives of New Zealand were addicted to cannibalism, and now they had ocular demonstration of the fact. A party went off in the pinnace, the day after their arrival in Ship Cove, to inspect another place near, and met with some Maoris who had evidently been having a feast, and Cook obtained from one of them the bone of a human forearm from which the flesh had recently been picked, and was given to understand that a few days previously a strange canoe had come to their

country, and the crew had been captured and eaten. It appeared that they only ate their enemies; and also that all strangers were considered as such. Several times whilst wandering about, the crew found relics of such feasts. Banks was able to purchase the head of one of the victims, and found he had been despatched by a blow on the temple which had fractured the skull.

The natives became more friendly as time went on, and brought some very fine mackerel which they sold for nails, pieces of cloth, or paper, "and in this Traffic they never once attempted to defraud us of any one thing, but dealt as fair as people could do." After a time paper decreased in value, as they soon found it would not stand the effects of water. Cook used every endeavour to find out if they had any traditions of other ships having visited the island, as he knew he was in the neighbourhood of the place where Tasman first sighted New Zealand; but he was unable to obtain any information on the subject. Wharton gives seventy miles as the distance between Massacre Bay and Ship Cove.

Very little could be seen of the surrounding country as it was so thickly timbered, but the boats were constantly out engaged in surveying. One day a party started with the intention of going to the end of the inlet, but after rowing for a considerable distance and seeing no indication of their being able to effect their purpose within a reasonable time, Cook determined to land, and whilst Banks and Solander employed themselves collecting specimens, he and one of the crew went up a hill to see if the end was visible from the top. They found their view in the desired direction was blocked by still higher hills which were too thickly wooded for them to attempt. However, the trouble they had taken was well repaid, for far away to the eastward they saw that the seas which washed both the east and west coasts of the northern island were here united.

His ship was in a bay in the straits, now known as Cook's Straits; and he had practically solved one of the problems which he had left England to do. He had proved that the Staten Land of Tasman, at any rate as far as the northern part was concerned, was an island and not a part of a great southern continent. They could also see that some of the land in the inlet, which had been taken for part of the mainland, was separated from it; and on the way back they were able to verify much of this.

Cook judged that the population of this part of the island was only scanty, and estimated the number at between three and four hundred. The natives had few, if any, cultivation patches and appeared to subsist on fern roots and fish. They were evidently poorer than those previously seen, and their canoes are described as "mean and almost without ornament." They had some slight knowledge of the value of iron, and readily took spike nails when trading, some preferring them to anything else. They preferred "Kersey and Broadcloth to the Otaheite cloth, which shew'd them to be a more sensible people than many of their neighbours," says Cook.

An old man, who had previously paid them several visits, came on board, and complained that a week previously one of the ship's boats had fired on and wounded two of the Maoris, one of whom was since dead. On enquiry, Cook found that the Master and five petty officers had gone to fish beyond the usual bounds in the direction of one of the villages, and having been approached in what they thought was a threatening manner by two canoes, they fired to prevent them coming too close. A second native flatly contradicted the statement that any one had been killed, and, on enquiry being made at the village in question, no death could be heard of; but Cook very severely condemned the firing as unjustifiable.

Two posts were prepared with inscriptions giving the ship's name and the date, one of which was set up near the watering-place, and the other on a conspicuous position on an island called Motuara, permission having been obtained from the natives who promised that they should always be preserved. Possession was taken of this, the southern island, and the king's health having been drunk in wine, the empty bottle was presented to the old man who had complained about the shooting, and he was greatly delighted with his present. He also was given some silver threepenny pieces dated 1763, and some spike nails branded with the broad arrow.

As the ship had by this time been brought into fairly good trim, her bottom clean, her sides freshly caulked and tarred, the ironwork of the tiller overhauled and repaired, more ballast taken on board, the rigging put into thorough good order, and a plentiful supply of wood and water obtained, Cook determined to push through his newly discovered strait; but unfavourable weather detained them till the 6th February, and even then a failing wind compelled them to anchor again till next day. On getting out into the strait a very strong current was encountered, which nearly drove them on to a small island, and they had to let go the anchor which did not hold them, but a fortunate change in the current carried them clear. The southern point of the North Island was named "Cape Palliser, in honour of my worthy friend Captain Palliser," and the northern point of the South Island was called Cape Campbell, after Captain John Campbell, F.R.S., who had strongly supported Cook's appointment as observer for the Royal Society.

After passing through the strait Cook at first steered to the south, but finding that some of the people on board were not satisfied that the North Island was not part of a continent, he decided to set the matter at

rest, and though he was himself convinced, he turned to the north and proceeded along the coast till Cape Turnagain was recognised, when he once more changed his course southwards. Banks says:

"At this time there were two parties on board, one who wished that the land in sight might, and the others that it might not, prove to be a continent. I myself have always been most firm in the former wish, though sorry I am to say that my party is so small that there are none heartily of it than myself, and one poor midshipman, the rest begin to sigh for roast beef."

Following down the east coast of the South Island, a piece of land which appeared to be separated from the mainland was named Banks Island, but Cook seems to have had some doubts as it is joined to the mainland by dotted lines on his chart, and has since been proved to be joined on by a neck of low land, and is now called Bank's Peninsula. After passing here Mr Gore thought he had seen land to the east, and Cook, though he felt sure that it was improbable there was anything of importance in that direction, made a run out only to find Gore had been mistaken. On their return to the coast, they expected to round the south end almost immediately, as they understood from the natives of Queen Charlotte's Sound that it was only at a distance of four days for their canoes. Very slow progress was made owing to the unfavourable winds, but they managed several times to run close in, and from what they were able to see of the country, came to the conclusion it was very barren, with high ranges in the interior, and but few evidences of inhabitants. At last a favourable breeze sprang up from the north, and they tried to make the most of it, "and by that means carried away the maintop gallant mast and foretop mast steering sail boom, but these were soon replaced by others." A high bluff

was named after Admiral Saunders, and near it were several bays "wherein there appear'd to be anchorage and shelter from S.W., Westerly, and N.W. winds." One of these is now known as Otago Harbour, the port of the City of Dunedin.

On 26th February it began to blow from the west-south-west, so they stood away to the southward. The foresail was split to pieces, but shortly after the wind moderated, only to blow again with increased fury about daylight, accompanied by heavy squalls of rain, and their main topsail went. The storm continued for forty-eight hours before it gave signs of breaking, and for half that time they lay to, heading to the south; at length they were able to bring her round, and resumed their course to the south and west. After having been lost for seven days, land was again sighted in the neighbourhood of Cape Saunders on 4th March, and at night a large fire was seen on shore. They were now in the vicinity of the strait, now Foveaux Strait, which separates Stewart from South Island, but Cook was not yet sure of its existence. On the 6th, being satisfied that he had passed the most southern point of the land, the course was altered to the west, and he nearly ran on to a dangerous cluster of rocks that lie a few miles to the south-east of Stewart Island, and are almost wholly submerged, with deep water all round. To these rocks he gave the name of The Traps, and remarks, "It is apparent that we had a very fortunate escape." Shortly afterwards they were again blown off the land and lost their mizzen and mizzen stay sails; but on the weather moderating they picked up the land again near the western end of Foveaux Strait. Again they were blown down to the south and picked up the land on the 14th near a bay which Cook wished to enter, but their progress was so slow, and darkness was coming on; so, giving it the name of Dusky Bay, he proceeded up the coast, contented to

note that, if there was a sufficiency of water, it would probably prove a good harbour sheltered from every wind. Several of these inlets were seen, but Cook would not risk entering them, for if he were successful in getting in, he thought he might have considerable difficulty in getting out again.

After passing Cascade Point, named from four streams that fell over its face, the coast trended away to the east, but soon resumed its northerly direction. Here, although the weather was not cold, large quantities of snow were seen on the hills. At Cape Foulwind, as the name suggests, they were again blown off their course, but soon recovered their position. Describing the land, Cook says:

"No country upon earth can appear with a more rugged and barren aspect than this does from the sea, for as far inland as the eye can reach nothing is to be seen but the summits of these rocky mountains, which seem to lay so near one another as not to admit any vallies between them."

When they had gone a little further, however, the mountains retired from the sea, leaving a strip of land which, from the amount of vegetation visible, was judged to be very fertile. On the 24th they rounded the northern point of the South Island, and on the 27th Cook writes: "As we have now circumnavigated the whole of this country, it is time for me to think of quitting it." He thus signifies that he had carried out to the fullest extent the second portion of his instructions: that is, he had completely determined the situation and nature of the land seen by Tasman in 1642, and had in the most conclusive manner possible—by sailing round it—proved that it was not the western coast of a large continent as insisted on by Dalrymple and others.

On the 28th he ran into Admiralty Bay to procure

wood and water, and to refit as far as he possibly could for the voyage homewards. His sails in particular required a thorough overhaul, for Banks says that they "were ill provided from the first, and were now worn and damaged by the rough work they had gone through, particularly on the New Zealand coast, and they gave no little trouble to get into order again." Whilst the necessary preparations were being carried out the surrounding country was inspected; a few deserted huts were found, which had not been inhabited for some time, but no further trace of any human beings. The two points at the ends of Admiralty Bay were appropriately named after the secretaries Stephens and Jackson.

The opinion of the botanical members of the expedition was that European fruits, grain, etc., would grow well, and that an agricultural population would flourish. Timber of excellent quality was plentiful, and Cook thought that though nothing suitable for masts was seen, it was very probable that such might be found in the future. The New Zealand flax was very abundant, and was believed to promise considerable commercial value. Fish was to be found in great quantities—lobsters and oysters being specially remarkable for both quality and quantity. No quadrupeds except dogs and rats were seen, and birds were not very plentiful. The minerals in Cook's opinion did not appear of much value, but he admitted that he was hardly capable of forming one, as it was a subject of which he knew little. Banks noted that the few people they saw on the South Island were apparently of an inferior race to those on the North, the latter were more closely allied to the Otaheitan type, and many of their customs were similar, whilst their language was practically identical, and Tupia had no difficulty in making himself understood.

It seems that even at this time the subject of founding a colony somewhere in the Southern Hemisphere

had been under discussion, for Cook says that if a settlement were decided on in New Zealand, he would recommend the estuary of the Thames and the Bay of Islands as the most suitable places for the purpose.

Speaking of his chart of New Zealand, Cook points out frankly the places where he thinks he may have fallen into error and gives his reasons for so thinking. The opinions of others on the subject are worth recording. M. Crozet, second to M. Marion du Fresne in command of the French expedition that was out the next year, speaks most highly of the work. He says:

"As soon as I obtained information of the voyage of Cook, I carefully compared the chart I had prepared of that part of the coast of New Zealand along which we had coasted, with that prepared by Captain Cook and his officers. I found it of an exactitude and of a thoroughness of detail which astonished me beyond all power of expression. I doubt whether our own coasts of France have been delineated with more precision. I think therefore that I cannot do better than to lay down our track off New Zealand on the chart prepared by the celebrated English navigator."

M. du Fresne was killed at the Bay of Islands in 1772.

Admiral Wharton says:

"Never has a coast been as well laid down by a first explorer, and it must have required unceasing vigilance and continual observation in fair weather and foul, to arrive at such a satisfactory conclusion, and with such a dull sailor as the *Endeavour* was, the six and a half months occupied in the work (2,400 miles of coast) must be counted as a short interval in which to do it."

CHAPTER X

1770—AUSTRALIA

WHEN everything was in readiness for his departure, Cook consulted with his officers as to the best route to take on the return voyage to England. His own wish was to sail round Cape Horn in order to make sure that there was no other large body of land in the South Pacific Ocean, but taking into consideration the time of year and the condition of his ship, he recognised that it would be unwise to court disaster. The same reasons held good against making direct to the Cape of Good Hope, a course which would also prevent any further discoveries of importance, as that portion of the Ocean had been frequently traversed.

"It was therefore resolved to return by way of the E. Indies by the following route. Upon Leaving this coast to steer to the Westward until we fall in with the E. coast of New Holland, and then to follow the direction of that coast to the Northward or what other direction it might take us, until we arrive at its Northern extremity; and if it should be found impracticable then to Endeavour to fall in with the Land or Islands discovered by Quiros."

This extract from Cook's Journal, written before he left New Zealand for the Australian coast, shows that he made no claim to being the discoverer of Australia, as is still taught in schools; and it renders the much discussed question as to whether he and Banks knew of the existence of the "Dauphin Map,"

one of absolutely no importance. From what can now be ascertained, it seems most probable that Cook never knew of its existence, and Banks not till some years after his return from this voyage.

Cook did know that New Holland had been discovered, and had in his possession records of some of the pioneers who had touched on various points of its coasts. He knew in which direction it lay from where he then was; and he knew that the information about the country was scanty and unreliable, so he determined, as far as in him lay, that these uncertainties should be cleared away. His only claim, and a very just one, is that he discovered and traced the course of the eastern coast. Messrs Becke and Jeffery quote the above paragraph from Cook's Journal, and yet they contend that his connection with the discovery of Australia "was accidental."

The direction to be taken having been thus settled they got under weigh at daylight on 31st March 1770, with a favourable south-easterly gale and a clear sky; steering a little to the north of west, they passed Cape Farewell the day following, and were able to keep their course. On 16th April they saw several birds, which were recognised as belonging to species only to be found in the immediate vicinity of land, and in consequence the lead was kept going, but no soundings were obtained with either the 100 or 130 fathom lines. On the 17th they were forced off their course by a south-westerly gale, first standing to the north-west, and then south, then north, and again south. The weather soon cleared up and enabled them to get several observations of both the sun and moon. The next day a Port Egmont hen was seen, and was looked upon as an infallible sign of the nearness of land, and Cook remarks:

"Indeed we cannot be far from it. By our Longitude we are a degree to the westward of the east side of

Van Dieman's Land according to Tasman, the first discoverer's Longitude of it, who could not err much in so short a run as from this land to New Zealand; and by our Lat. we could not to be above 50' or 55 leagues to the Northward of the place where he took his departure from."

At six o'clock in the morning of 19th April 1770, Lieutenant Hicks saw land extending from north-east to west, distant five or six leagues. This was the looked-for east coast of New Holland. As he could see no land to the south where, from Tasman's Journal, he expected to have done, Cook expressed a doubt as to Van Dieman's Land being joined to New Holland, and laid down a doubtful line on his chart. This doubtful line remained on the charts till Bass solved the problem by sailing through the strait which bears his name, and at the entrance to which the *Endeavour* now was. Cook particularly notes that he did not take Tasman's point of departure from the existent charts, but from a transcript of his Journal made by Dirk Rembrautse.

A low hill, the most southerly land in sight, was named by Cook, Point Hicks, in honour of its discoverer, and he gives its position as 38° 0′ S., 211° 7′ W. Three water-spouts were here seen a short distance from the ship, and are remarkable for being the first mentioned in the Journal. In turning towards the north a headland was passed, which Cook named the Ram's Head, as it reminded him of a point at the entrance to Plymouth Sound. The country is described as rather low, not very hilly, covered with green woods, and the sea-shore of white sand. The following day Cape Howe was passed, named, and the position fixed as 37° 28′ S., 210° 3′ W., which Admiral Wharton says is almost exactly right. The country now is said to be improving in appearance, it

"had a very agreeable and promising aspect, diversified with hills and ridges, plains and valleys, with some few

small lawns: but, for the most part, the whole was covered with wood, the hills and ridges rise with a gentle slope: they are not high, neither are there many of them."

Smoke proved the land to be inhabited, but no natives were seen till after Cape Dromedary and Bateman's Bay—the latter named after the second Captain of the *Northumberland*—had been passed, when some were seen on the shore; but the distance was too great for close observation. Near a curiously shaped hill, which he named the Pigeon House, Cook wished to land, but the wind shifted and a heavy swell commenced rolling in, so he judged it would not be safe to make the attempt. On passing Jervis Bay he would have run in, but the wind was against him, and he came to the conclusion that its appearance was not sufficiently inviting to justify him in wasting time trying to beat in.

On the 28th, an unsuccessful attempt was made to land at a place that has been identified as being a little to the north of the Five Islands, near Illawarra, but the surf rendered the task too dangerous. Some natives were seen fishing, but as soon as the boats approached they ran away. At daylight the next morning a bay was discovered, and the Master was sent in the pinnace to sound the entrance, the ship following closely in his wake; and on Sunday, 29th April 1770, H.M.S. *Endeavour* anchored for the first time on the coast of New Holland, about two miles within the entrance of what Cook named Sting Ray Bay, but which is now known as Botany Bay. The time when the name was changed is disputed, but it seems probable that the change was made some time after leaving the place, when Messrs Banks and Solander had arranged their collection of plants; for though under the date 6th May, Cook says: "The great quantity of plants Mr Banks and Dr Solander found in this place occasioned my giving it the name of Botany Bay," yet the logs of the

other officers speak of it under its first name, and Banks gives it no name till, in a general description of the country, apparently written about the time they were leaving Cape York, he refers to it under the name of Sting Ray Bay.

On coming to an anchor, Cook, Banks, and Tupia went on shore, and made an unavailing attempt, when close in, to speak with some natives who were near, but they all ran away except two, who seemed inclined to oppose any landing, for they came towards the boats in a threatening manner. Cook ordered a musket to be fired over them, and they retired to where they had left some spears which they picked up—and one of them threw a stone at the boats. Upon this, as they were so far away that no serious harm could be done, Cook fired a charge of small shot at him. This caused him to run off to a small hut near, pick up a wooden shield, and return to take up his position alongside his comrade. A couple of spears were thrown by the blacks and drew a second discharge of small shot from the invaders, upon which the defenders retired slowly; and as Banks suggested the possibility of the spears being poisoned, they were not followed up. The natives were said to be armed with "wooden swords" as well as long spears, but Banks conjectured that they were "a machine to throw the lance," and in this he was probably correct, as the "womerah" was used for that purpose almost all over the island. It is a stick with a hook at the end, and this hook fitting into a notch at the end of the spear enables the latter to be thrown a great deal further than by hand alone.

Sir Walter Besant relates that Isaac Smith, Mrs Cook's cousin, was the first to set his foot on Australian soil, leaping out of the boat in response to an order from the Captain, "Jump out, Isaac." There is no official record of the name of the first to land, of course, but Canon Bennett says that it is the family tradition

that the event as related by Sir Walter is correct, and it is by no means improbable that Canon Bennett received the tradition from Admiral Isaac Smith himself. He also describes the position of Smith as "what was then called, the Captain's Midshipman, whose duty it was to wait on the captain and I believe to do Butler's and Valet's work if needed."

On examining the huts near the landing-place, which were constructed of sticks covered with pieces of bark, somewhat similar to those seen in Terra del Fuego, some children were found carefully covered up, but they were not disturbed. Some forty or fifty spears were taken away, due payment in the shape of beads, cloth, ribbons, nails, etc., being left in their place; but all of it was found untouched the following morning. The canoes are described by Cook as the worst he ever saw, consisting merely of sheets of bark drawn together, and tied with withies at the ends, and kept open in the middle by sticks.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in getting a supply of water, that on the north head entailing much labour, and on the south head being obtainable only from a small stream, or by digging in the sand. Whilst the crew were busy with the water and wood, Cook made a survey of the harbour. He describes the country as being lightly timbered, with a sandy soil, bearing a plentiful crop of coarse grass, a quantity of of which was taken on board for the sheep. The sand was interspersed with patches of swampy ground and rocks, but at the head of the bay, though much of the same character, it appeared richer. One or two blacks' camps were seen, but the people ran away at the approach of the strangers. In one or two cases spears were thrown, but fortunately no one was injured, though Dr Monkhouse and one or two others had narrow escapes. Large heaps of shells, oysters, mussels, and cockle, were found near the camps, some

of them "being some of the largest oyster shells I ever saw," says Cook.

A vague account of the landing, said to have been obtained from the blacks, was published in Sydney, in an anonymous work on Australian discovery, which was never completed. It is there stated that three men landed from the boats on the south point of the bay and walked round for a short distance, the boats following towards some fresh water that ran down over the rocks; and that after staying some little time they went over to the north side and the three persons again landed —one of them wore a cocked hat. The blacks appeared with their weapons, but made no attempt to attack, and, on a couple of shots being fired from the boats, they ran away. The boats then went back to the ship, and either the same evening or the next morning were out fishing with nets. This account, as far as it goes, agrees very fairly with those of Cook and Banks. It is almost unnecessary to add that at first the ship was taken for a large bird and then for a big canoe.

On returning from the first day's explorations they managed to net about 300 lb. of fish, which proved a very acceptable change of diet for the crew. Cook was informed that whilst those on board were having their dinner, some ten or a dozen natives were seen to come down and remove their canoes; but none of the presents that had been left were touched. After a time another party of about eighteen came down to within about a hundred yards of the working party, but could not be induced to come any nearer, and all they seemed to want was that their visitors should go away and leave them in peace.

Whilst here a seaman, named Forbes ("Forby" in the muster roll) Sutherland, died of consumption, from which he had been suffering throughout the voyage, and was buried on shore on the point named by Cook in his memory, Point Sutherland. The anonymous

pamphlet, referred to above, says that Cook does not give the cause of Sutherland's death, though he was usually very careful to do so, and then tells a story to the effect that Sutherland had found a metal plate affixed to a tree, which showed that the Dutch had previously been on the spot, and whilst securing it he had been fatally wounded by the blacks, and then Cook, in order to have the credit of being the first discoverer, carefully suppressed these facts, but that the plate was secured by some one or other, and is preserved in the British Museum. Unfortunately for the truth of this story, Cook very distinctly states that Sutherland died of consumption; and, secondly, the plate is not in the care of the British Museum, nor can any trace of its existence be found in any of the records of the voyage.

Before leaving, an inscription was cut on a tree near the watering-place, giving the ship's name and the date, and the English colours were displayed on shore every day during the stay; but the crew were unsuccessful in their attempts to establish any friendly intercourse with the blacks. Mr Green fixed the latitude of the place as 34° 0′ S.

A brass plate was afterwards attached to the rocks about fifteen feet above high-water mark, near the spot where the first landing was supposed to have taken place, by the "Philosophical Society of Australia" in 1822, with an inscription to the glorification of that Society, and an incidental mention of Cook.

On leaving Botany Bay the coast was followed up to the northward, and an entrance was noted which Cook thought might prove a safe anchorage, and to which he gave the name of Port Jackson, after Mr George Jackson, one of the Secretaries to the Admiralty. Within this "entrance" is now the city of Sydney, and it was to this place that Captain Philip removed his headquarters when he discovered the unsuitability of

Botany Bay for the purposes of colonisation. Botany Bay had been very strongly recommended by Banks.

After passing Port Jackson, Broken Bay was reached and named from the number of small islands in it, but they were too far away to note the entrance of a large river, now the Hawkesbury. The winds, light and northerly, rendered progress very slow for several days, and it was not till 10th May that a small round, rocky, island was seen, but not named. This is now known as Nobby's Head at the entrance to Newcastle, on the Hunter River, the great coal district of the South Pacific.

Port Stephens was the next place noticed, and Cook judged that it was a well-sheltered harbour with ample depth of water. Smoke was constantly seen, but no other trace of inhabitants. Off Cape Hawke he found that his observations made him twelve miles south of his position by the log, which he rightly attributed to the currents, on this coast of very considerable force, and very variable.

Almost the only thing to be seen, beyond the outline of the coast, was the constantly recurring smoke; one point received the name of Smoky Cape on account of the great number in its vicinity. Cook was, of course, unaware that probably they were, many of them, signals from one party of blacks to another announcing the advent of something strange on the coast. That these "smokes" are used by blacks to convey information is now a well-recognised fact, and the news they do convey by this means is often perfectly astonishing to a white man.

As they proceeded further to the north the land appeared to increase in height; near the shore the country was low and sandy, but further inland

"an agreeable variety of Hills, Ridges, and Valleys, and large Plains, all cloathed with wood, which to all appearance is the same as I have before mentioned, as we could discover no visible alteration in the soil."

After passing the Solitary Islands, they were able to keep pretty close in shore, and as usual noticed some smokes, and at one point were able to distinguish people on the beach. Soon afterwards Cape Byron was passed, and named after the Captain of the *Dolphin* when on her first voyage to the South Seas.

After escaping a reef off Point Danger they discovered a bay on 17th May which Cook named Morton Bay, after the President of the Royal Society, the Earl of Morton. It is now wrongly spelt on the maps as Moreton Bay. Cook says:

"From C. Morton the Land trends away W. further than we could see, for there is a small space where we could see no land: some on board were of opinion that there is a River there because the sea looked paler than usual."

This opinion is correct, for here the Brisbane River enters the sea, and on it is situated the city of Brisbane, the capital of the Province of Queensland. Some very remarkable hills stand a short distance from the coast on the west of the bay, which Cook aptly named the Glasshouses, from their likeness to the buildings in which glass is manufactured. Still keeping as near the coast as was considered safe, they passed and named Double Island Point and Wide Bay, and the country was described as being more barren than any yet seen on the coast. A black bluff was named Indian Head, as several natives were seen on it; but with the exception of the "smokes" there were very few evidences of habitation to be seen. A cape having on it two peculiar white patches was named Sandy Cape, and a long dangerous sandbank, shoaling steadily on the outside, and steep-to on the inside, was named Breaksea Spit. Here Cook found himself in a large bay and conjectured, from the kinds of birds to be seen and the direction of their flight, that there was

a river or lagoon to the south-west. The conjecture was correct, for here the Mary River empties itself into Hervey's Bay.

On the 23rd of May they anchored in a bay, and landed for the second time on the shores of New Holland. Cook says the country was "visibly worse than at the last place," that is Botany Bay. The timber was much the same, though Banks got one or two new specimens. Black and white ducks and pelicans were seen, and a bustard weighing 17½ lb. was shot; it was "as large as a good turkey, and far the best we had eaten since we left England," says Banks. That bird is immortalised in the names Bustard Bay and Bustard Head, which were conferred in its honour. Oysters of good quality were obtained, but, as a set off, Banks made the acquaintance of the green tree ant and the Australian mosquito, which he did not seem to appreciate so much.

The night previous to their landing Orton, clerk and purser, having indulged too freely, had his clothes cut off his back by some one unknown, and was afterwards followed to his berth—and both his ears were slit. Suspicion fell upon Midshipman Magra (or McGrath as it is spelt on some of the rolls), and he was dismissed the quarter-deck and suspended from any duty. Cook describes him as "one of those Gentlemen frequently found on board King's ships, that can very well be spared." As the evidence against him was not quite conclusive, Cook proceeded no further, but watched him closely, as he was fully determined to discover and punish the offender. He seems to have had good reasons to withdraw his suspicions, for, on the 26th, Magra was permitted to return to duty and reinstated as midshipman, "as I did not find him guilty of the crime laid to his charge." Midshipman Saunders, who deserted at Batavia, was the one on whom the blame was ultimately laid.

On 24th May a moderately high, white, and apparently barren point was passed, which, being found by observation to be directly under the tropic, was named Cape Capricorn. Shortly afterwards the mouth of the Fitzroy River was crossed, but Cook only remarks that from general appearances, he believed there was a river in the immediate neighbourhood. On the 26th, as the soundings were very irregular, he ran out between the Keppel Islands, on one of which a few natives were seen. Cape Townshend was named, Admiral Wharton says, after Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1767, who died in 1770; but it is much more probable that it was after Charles Townshend, who signed Cook's commission of Lieutenant, and who was, at the time the *Endeavour* left England, one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

Rounding the point into Shoalwater Bay they had to haul up sharp to the west, in order to get within the islands which were named the Northumberland Group. The water was found to be very shallow, so they anchored for a time and sounded from the boats, soon afterwards moving further in to the shore, as Cook was anxious to clean the ship's bottom, which was getting very foul, and he also wished to have the advantage of a full moon in these apparently dangerous waters. However, as no fresh water was found, the idea had to be given up. He landed to take some observations, but they proved very unsatisfactory as the compass was found to be unreliable, a fault that was attributed to the iron stone in the neighbouring hills, of which the signs were very evident. In some places the variations were found to amount to as much as 30°. In describing the country, he says: "No sign of fertility is to be seen upon the Land; the soil of the uplands is mostly a hard, reddish clay." He named the northernmost headland Cape Palmerston, after one of the Lords of the Admiralty; and the large

opening which includes Broadsound, Shoalwater Bay, and Thirsty Sound, he called the Bay of Inlets.

After passing Cape Hillsborough, named after the President of the Board of Trade, they entered Whitsunday Passage, and it is described by Cook as "one continued safe harbour, besides a number of small bays and coves on each side, where ships might lay as it were in a Basin." This passage is betweeen the mainland and Whitsunday Island, so called from having been sighted on that day, and the land on both sides is described as being green and pleasant, but although it looked inviting Cook would not waste any time, as the brilliant, clear moonlight enabled him to stand on under easy sail. Rounding Cape Gloucester he entered Edgecombe Bay, now known as Port Denison, said to be the prettiest port in Australia. On entering Cleveland Bay, named after the district of Yorkshire in which Cook was born, the compass was seen to be very much disturbed, and the cause was found to be an island which he called Magnetical, now Magnetic Island. This island is off the present port of Townsville.

A little further to the north a boat was sent off under the charge of Mr Hicks, who was accompanied by Messrs Banks and Solander, in the hope of procuring some fresh vegetables, as some cocoanuts were supposed to have been seen; but the trip resulted in disappointment, for the cocoanuts proved to be a kind of cabbage palm, and nothing else was seen worthy of attention. Blacks were heard calling to each other, but none of them were seen till, when near Rockingham Bay, some few were observed through the glasses on the islands, but no communication was possible. They were very dark, and appeared entirely destitute of clothing. In a small bay north of Cape Grafton the ship anchored, and Cook, Banks, and Solander went ashore to look for water, and found two small streams, but they were too

difficult of access to be made use of; and the country is described as being steep, rocky, and unpromising.

On 10th June, soon after leaving this bay, all except the watch had turned in, and the lead had just been cast, with seventeen fathoms, when the unfortunate ship crashed on to a reef, bringing all hands on deck. Soundings were at once taken all round her, and she was found to be on the very edge of a coral reef. As she was making but little water, anchors were carried out, and an attempt was made to haul her off. Finding their efforts unavailing, steps were taken to lighten her; decayed stores, oil jars, hoopstaves, casks, iron and stone ballast, and her six quarter-deck guns were thrown overboard—from forty to fifty tons in all—but with no effect. The tide then began to rise and her leaks to increase very rapidly, two pumps having to be kept constantly at work. Believing that matters would only go from bad to worse, Cook determined to heave the ship off at all hazards, so every one that could be spared from the pumps was sent to the capstan and windlass; and at length after a stay of twenty-three hours on the rocks, she was hove off into deep water. But now all hands had to take to the pumps as the water was pouring in rapidly. For a time they appeared to gain slightly; then there was a sudden increase reported in the well, which caused every one to take a gloomy view of their position. It was, however, discovered that the man who had been taking the soundings had measured the depth above the ceiling, and on being relieved did not tell his successor from what point, then the second man, taking the depth from the outside plank, made it appear that there was a sudden increase of from sixteen to eighteen inches. When this was realised, the correction acted like a charm; each one redoubled his exertions, and by morning they had gained considerably on the leak, and sail was got on her and she stood in for the land.

It is said that Midshipman Monkhouse suggested that the leak should be "fothered," and as he had already seen the operation performed on board a merchant ship which was leaking at the rate of forty-eight inches per hour, and had afterwards, without further repair, crossed the Atlantic from Virginia to London, he was given charge. He had a studding sail on which oakum and wool was lightly sewn and smothered with dirt, lowered over the bows and dragged over the place where the worst of the leak was supposed to be, and there firmly secured, with the result that Banks says, in a quarter of an hour after it was in position, they were able to pump the ship clear of water, and Cook says one pump was sufficient to keep her free. During all this trying time every one seems to have behaved well, for Cook says:

"In justice to the ship's company, I must say that no men ever behaved better than they have done on this occasion; animated by the behaviour of every Gentleman on board, every man seem'd to have a just sense of the Danger we were in, and exerted himself to the very utmost."

Banks also adds his testimony:

"Every man exerts his utmost for the preservation of the ship. The officers during the whole time never gave an order that did not show them to be perfectly composed and unmoved by the circumstances."

The suggestive name of Cape Tribulation was given to a point off which the reef on which they had struck was situated, and some small islands near were called Hope Islands, because, as Cook says, at the time of their greatest danger they hoped, if the worst came, they would at any rate be able to reach them. A boat had been sent off to ascertain if there was any place in the neighbourhood where they could safely beach the ship, and very soon returned with the information that a small

river, now the Endeavour River, had been found which appeared to be in every way suitable. Into this she was safely taken, and deep water being found close to the bank, a stage was rigged, and most of the stores and ballast was taken on shore; a hospital tent was erected for the sick "which amounted at this time to some eight or nine afflicted with different disorders, but none very dangerously ill." Mr Green and Tupia were showing signs of scurvy, but the remainder appeared at that time to have been free from it.

When the ship was sufficiently clear she was warped a little further up the river, and at the top of the tide her bows were hauled well into the bank, and when the tide fell they were able to examine the leak. The damage was found to be very serious, for the rock had cut through four of the planks into the timbers, and three other planks were injured. The manner in which the wood was cut away was "hardly credible, scarce a splinter was to be seen, but the whole was cut away as if done with a blunt-edged tool." A piece of rock was found tightly fixed in the hole, and this had served greatly to arrest the influx of water. The sheathing and false keel were very badly damaged, but it was believed that she was not much injured aft as she made but very little water when once the main wound was dry.

At what is believed to be the exact spot at which she was beached a monument has been erected by the inhabitants of Cooktown, a seaport town now at the mouth of the river.

Every effort was made to get the repairs completed during the prevalence of the high tides, but unsuccessfully, and it was not till their return that they were able to get the ship afloat again. In the meantime, as there was no danger to be feared from the natives, the men were allowed as much liberty as possible, and owing to their obtaining a supply of fresh fish, a few pigeons,

and a small quantity of vegetables in the form of some wild yam tops, cabbage palm, and wild plantains, the health of the crew rapidly improved. On 29th June an observation of "the Emersion of Jupiter's First Satelite" was obtained, from which the longitude was calculated as 214° 42′ 30″ W. Wharton considers this an excellent observation—the true longitude being 214° 45′ W.

When on 4th July they at last succeeded in getting the good ship afloat again, they found that she had been so well patched that she only took in water at the rate of about one inch per hour, and this was easily kept under by the pumps. She was taken across to the other side of the river, and was laid over on a sandbank to be more thoroughly examined, when the sheathing was found to be greatly damaged. The carpenter in whom Cook had confidence, reported that with the means at his disposal he could not make a satisfactory job of it, but he thought that there would not be any great danger in pushing on till some place where greater facilities were available could be reached. She was therefore again taken alongside the staging, the stores and ballast replaced, and everything got ready for a prosecution of the voyage; and the Master was sent off in the pinnace to look for a passage to the north-east. He was not successful, but whilst away came across some natives on the mainland very busy cooking "sea eggs," but they ran away as soon as they saw the white men.

During the whole of the time that the ship had been in the river, the natives had kept away from her, though evidences of their being near were constantly found. One day some two or three were seen fishing, and some of the crew wished to attempt their capture, but Cook ordered that no notice was to be taken of them; with the result that they gradually came nearer and at length picked up some small presents which had been thrown down for them. After a time they landed,

and were persuaded to sit down with Tupia, when a long and animated conversation ensued in which neither party could understand the other. They were at dinner time offered something to eat, but declined it, and went away. The following day three of them returned bringing a stranger with them, and the next day five came to the camp, leaving a woman and a boy on the other side of the river. The whole of these were entirely destitute of anything in the way of clothing.

Not being satisfied with the report of the Master as to a passage out to the north-east, Cook again sent him—but he again reported badly; the shoals appeared to be more numerous the further he went. He, however, brought back with him three turtles weighing about 800 lb., which, as may well be imagined, proved a very welcome addition to the food of the crew, for they had now been some months without fresh meat. A second trip out to where these were obtained resulted in their catching three or four more, and getting also a good supply of shell-fish.

Gore, Banks, and three men also made a few days' excursion up the river, but with the exception of shooting a kangaroo, they met with nothing of note. The tracks of this animal had been seen several times at Botany Bay, but the honour of obtaining this, the first killed by any European, belongs to Mr Gore. On 18th July Cook, Banks, and Solander went up the coast some six or eight miles and climbed a prominent hill, to see if they could form any idea of the general lie of the coast and its surrounding reefs; and Cook was greatly struck with the difficulties he would have to contend with in making his way out. He says: "In whatever direction we looked, it (the sea) was covered with shoals as far as the eye could see."

A few blacks had made some sort of friendly advance to Cook and Banks when out for a walk on the north bank of the river, and had been persuaded to visit the

camp on the other side. Shortly before the last of the stores were taken on board some ten of them visited the ship, and were offered various gifts, but seemed to set little value on any of them. Some of the turtles which were on deck attracted their attention, and they made signs that they wished for them; and when they found their signs were not responded to, attempted to carry off two of them; and when this attempt was frustrated they went ashore to where some of the crew were at work. One of them seized a lighted stick from under the pitch kettle, and, taking a good wide circuit round the place, fired the grass as he went. Fortunately, there were not many things left ashore, and they had just finished loading the powder, so the most serious damage appears to have been the premature roasting of a young pig. The blacks then went on to where some of the crew were engaged in washing, and where a quantity of the ship's linen and the fishing nets were hanging out to dry. Here they again attempted to fire the grass, but receiving a charge of small shot they retreated, only to return soon afterwards with their arms, some of which the English managed to secure. When they seemed to be inclined to be more peaceable, the arms were eventually returned, with the result that, after staying a short time, they went off and again fired the undergrowth about a couple of miles away.

Banks seems to have been greatly impressed with the manner in which the grass and undergrowth burnt, for he remarks that he will never pitch tents again in a hot climate, without first taking the precaution to burn the grass for some distance round. He had had an opportunity of seeing a good deal of the surrounding country, and reports it as dry, sandy, and "in every respect the most barren country we have yet seen." The animals were not numerous, and he enumerates kangaroos, wolves (the native dog or dingo), bats, wild cats (dasyurus), and opossums.

Several kinds of ducks, shags, pelicans, crows, and flock-pigeons were seen, but with the exception of the last were difficult to shoot; of the crows he says: "A crow in England, though in general sufficiently wary, is, I must say, a fool to a New Holland crow." None of the birds or beasts appear to have come amiss to the pot, for he observes that they could eat anything in the way of meat; all that was required was that it should not be salt. "That alone was sufficient to make it a delicacy."

He gives an account of a sailor's description of an animal he saw. "It was as black as the devil and had wings, indeed I took it for the devil, or I might have catched it, for it crawled away very slowly through the grass." After some little trouble Banks discovered this creature to have been a large bat (the flying fox). Of the insect life he found many specimens, and was particularly struck by the white ants and their nests; he also confesses to having formed a very respectful opinion of the various kinds of mosquitoes. On the beach they found bamboos, cocoanuts, and seeds, and large quantities of pumice stone, which were evidently not the produce of the country, but had been driven ashore from the east by the trade winds.

Cook's opinion agrees fairly well with that of Banks, but on the whole he thought that the east coast was not so barren and miserable as Dampier had described the the west to be, and he goes on to say:

"We are to consider that we see this country in the pure state of nature; the Industry of Man has had nothing to do with any part of it, and yet we find all such things as nature hath bestow'd upon it in a flourishing state. In this Extensive Country, it can never be doubted, but what most sorts of grain, Fruit, roots, etc., of every kind would flourish here were they once brought hither, planted, and cultivated by the hands of Industry; and here are provender for more cattle, at all

seasons of the year, than ever can be brought into the country."

This quotation is a good example of the observations and deductions that are to be found scattered through Cook's Journals, proves the soundness and accuracy of his judgment, and is very different from the would-be classical, semi-scientific rubbish that has been put into his mouth by his editors.

After several days' detention by contrary winds, they at length got away from the Endeavour River on 4th August, only to find themselves surrounded by difficulties. Cook or some other of the officers was continually at the masthead on the look-out, and, at last, by keeping very close in to the shore, they managed to creep past Cape Flattery, and at first thought that the worst was over; but on landing and ascending Point Lookout the prospect was anything but satisfactory. Cook therefore determined to take some observations from the top of one of the high islands which lay to the east, and which he thought outside the main reef. He was again doomed to disappointment, for on their arrival at the island selected, they could see, far away to the east, the sea breaking on the Great Barrier Reef. In hopes to get a better view in the morning, as the weather was hazy, Cook and Banks remained on the island all night, but with no greater success. They found from the large piles of shells and remains of fires that were to be seen, that the blacks visited these islands at certain periods, and considering the wretched canoes they had, little better than those seen at Botany Bay, it was a wonderful journey for them to make. The only living things they saw were a few lizards, and, in consequence, the place received the name of Lizard Island.

After careful consideration and consultation with his officers, Cook determined to go outside the reef, for

he was anxious to get on to the Dutch East India settlements in order to renew his supplies, as he was beginning to be afraid of running short; only about three months' provisions at short allowance were now left. He therefore made for an opening he had noticed when on Lizard Island, and got through without much difficulty, and appears to have felt much relieved, for he says:

"Having been entangled among Islands and Shoals, more or less ever since the 26th May, in which time we have sailed 360 leagues by the Lead, without ever having a Leadsman out of the chains, when the ship was under sail, a Circumstance that perhaps never hapn'd to any ship before, and yet it was here absolutely necessary."

The satisfaction they felt in getting into the open sea once more was largely discounted by finding that the ship made more water than before, and one pump had to be kept continually going to clear her.

One of the regrets that Cook felt at this time in leaving the coast was, that he had formed the opinion that New Holland and New Guinea were not joined, and he was afraid that he would not be able to put his opinion to the proof. In the end, however, he did, as they were soon afterwards glad to return within the shelter of the reef. As a matter of fact, Louis Vaez de Torres had sailed through the straits that now bear his name in the year 1606, after leaving De Quiros, but there is reason to believe that Cook did not know of this till after his return to England, and in his Introduction to his Second Voyage he readily yields to Torres the honour that undoubtedly belongs to him. The log of Torres's voyage was lost for many years, and was found at Manilla after the bombardment of that place by Admiral Cornish in 1762, so it is quite possible that its existence was only known to a few, of which number Cook did not

form one. Speaking of three charts contained in "De Brye's Voyages," published in 1756, which he says are "tolerably good" with regard to the places in New Guinea where he himself had touched, he says that he had formed the opinion that the Spanish and Dutch had evidently circumnavigated that island, and adds:

"I always understood, before I had a sight of these maps that it was unknown whether or no New Holland and New Guinea was one continued land, and so it is said in the very History of Voyages these maps are bound up in. However, we have now put this wholly out of dispute; but as I believe it was known before, but not publickly, I claim no other merit than the clearing up of a doubtful point."

On 14th August, he was, he thought, about opposite to the place where he had expected to find the passage, if any, between the two islands, and at night shortened sail for fear of overshooting it. In the morning he made all sail to the west, and sighted land a little after noon, which proved still to be a continuation of New Holland; and about an hour afterwards the great reef was again visible. The wind changed to east by north, and they were afraid of being carried on to the reef, so the course was changed to the north, again standing to the south when it fell dark. Soon afterwards it fell quite calm, and the lead gave no bottom with the 140-fathom line. The breakers were heard very distinctly towards morning, and at daybreak the reef was seen not a mile away from them; the ship was found to be drifting rapidly towards the breakers, there was no wind to help them off, and the depth of water was far too great to permit anchoring, so the yawl and longboat were got out, the pinnace being under repair, and sent ahead to haul her round, whilst the sweeps were used from the gunroom ports. By

six o'clock she was heading to the north again, but she was

"not above 80 or 100 yards from the breakers. The same sea that washed the side of the ship rose in a breaker prodidgiously high the very next time it did rise, so that between us and destruction was only a dismal valley, the breadth of one wave, and even now no ground could be felt with 120 fathoms."

The carpenter had by this time fastened a streak temporarily on the pinnace, and she was sent off to assist the towing. Cook had almost given up hope, but he says:

"In this truly terrible situation, not one man ceased to do his utmost, and that with as much calmness as if no danger had been near."

Admiral Wharton also calls attention to the fact that in the very height of the danger Messrs Green, Clerke, and Forwood, the gunner, were engaged in taking a "Lunar" for the longitude, and Green notes:

"These observations were very good, the limbs of sun and the moon very distinct, and a good horizon. We were about 100 yards from the reef, where we expected the ship to strike every minute, it being calm, no soundings, and the swell heaving us right on."

Mr Pickersgill, Master's Mate, remarks:

"This is the narrowest escape we ever had, and had it not been for the immediate help of Providence, we must inevitably have perished, for the ship must have sunk alongside the rocks, which were as steep as a wall, and there would have been no hopes of saving one single life in so great a surf."

Just when things seemed perfectly hopeless, a small breath of air, "so small that at any other time in a

calm we should not have observed it," came, and every advantage of it was taken, so that with the help of the boats, the distance from the reef was slightly increased, and then it again fell quite calm, and the anxiety was renewed, for they were as yet only about 200 yards away. A small opening was at length observed in the reef, and it was resolved, if possible, to go through it, but when they arrived at the entrance, the ebb tide was found to be "gushing out like a mill stream." They at once took advantage of this current as long as they could keep in it, but it was so narrow that they only succeeded in getting carried about a quarter of a mile away. A second opening was then noticed, and Mr Hicks was sent off with a boat to see if it was practicable, and whilst he was away they managed with a hard struggle to maintain the little advantage they had gained. He returned with a favourable report, and the ship was at once headed for it, and the tide having changed, they were rapidly carried through, and were shortly afterwards safely anchored inside the dreaded reef in nineteen fathoms of water. The channel through which they passed was named Providential Channel, and Cook says:

"It is but a few days ago that I rejoiced at having got without the Reef, but that joy was nothing when compared to what I now felt at being safe at an anchor within it."

Having thus fortunately arrived in a place of safety, Cook resolved to stay where he was until the pinnace had been put into thorough repair, so sending off the other boats to fish, he went to the masthead to study the difficulties by which he was surrounded. The prospect was not encouraging, but towards the north the shoals and reefs appeared to offer less obstruction than he had previously had to contend with, and he decided to keep in as close as possible to the mainland

till the question of the passage between New Holland and New Guinea was finally settled. The boats having returned with a quantity of very large shell-fish, a sort of cockle, some of them requiring two men to move them, and containing as much as twenty pounds of good wholesome meat, they weighed anchor and proceeded slowly through a network of reefs, shoals, and islands, the boats always out ahead sounding, and signalling any unexpected danger. On 21st August he had the satisfaction of passing through the straits between Cape York and New Guinea with his boats out on either side,

"for although there appeared nothing in the passage, yet I thought it necessary to take this method, because we had a strong flood which carried us on end very fast, and it did not want much of high water."

The track by which De Torres sailed through the straits was considerably to the north of that of the *Endeavour*, and several islands intervened between the two.

After getting clear of the strait, Cook, Banks, Solander and a small party landed on one of the neighbouring islands, and at first expected to be attacked by some natives who seemed inclined to offer opposition to their landing, but when the boats got near the shore they retreated. One of them appeared to be armed with a bow, the first time that this weapon had been seen on the coast, and the remainder had spears. Cook ascended one of the hills, the highest they could see, and from thence saw islands ranging to the north-west, but open sea to the west and south-west. As he had decided to land no more on this part of the coast, and as he could make no fresh discoveries to the west in New Holland, "the honours of which belong to the Dutch Navigators," and as he was confident he was the first European to visit the

east coast, he once more hoisted the English flag and

"took possession of the whole Eastern Coast from the above latitude"—38° 0′ S.—"down to this place by the name of 'New Wales.' We fired three volleys of small arms, which were answer'd by the like number from the ship."

Admiral Wharton says that in the King's Copy of Cook's Journal and in the Admiralty Copy the name is given as "New South Wales."

After leaving Possession Island, as he named it, he made the best of his way through the channel which now bears his name; it is but little used at the present day, owing to its many dangers. The southern point of Prince of Wales Island was named Cape Cornwall, and its longitude was given as 218° 59′ W., and Wharton says that this is one of the worst longitudes given throughout the whole Journal, as it is 70′ too far to the W.; but he explains that the error was excusable, as they had not been able to take any observations for some days, and the dead reckoning amidst such a number of shoals would be most difficult to keep.

Near Booby Island, so named from the large number of those birds seen there, they lost one of their anchors, and had very great difficulty in recovering it; and shortly afterwards they had a narrow escape from again running on a reef. They let go the anchors and brought up just in time with all sails set, and as there was a very nasty sea on at the time the consequences of striking, with the ship in the condition she was in, would most probably have been fatal. They at length succeeded in clearing the difficulties of the coasts of New Holland, and on 29th August sighted the Island of New Guinea.

Cardinal Moran, in his "History of the Catholic Church in Australia," claims that De Quiros and not

Cook was the first European to touch on the eastern coast of Australia, and identifies the port of Vera Cruz as being the place which is now known as Port Curtis. This port of Vera Cruz was situated between two rivers which were named the Jordan and the Salvador. These two rivers he identifies with the Boyne, which empties into Port Curtis, and the Burnett, which empties into Wide Bay some 100 miles away; and at the same time he completely overlooks the description given of the country and its products, which does not in any way suit the surroundings of Port Curtis. Every information available points to De Quiros's discovery being the Island of Santo and not Australia, and it is now universally accepted that that island is where he turned back, owing to a mutiny on board his ship, and the place where De Torres separated from him to continue his voyage through Torres Straits to Manilla.

CHAPTER XI

1770-1771—NEW GUINEA TO ENGLAND

THE land of New Guinea where first sighted appeared very low, with cocoanut palms in plenty, and the smoke rising in different directions proved it to be inhabited; but as the water was very shallow, the *Endeavour* had to remain a considerable distance off in running to the westward. Managing to get a little nearer in on 3rd September, Cook decided to attempt a landing, and then to leave the coast, as he considered he was only wasting valuable time in going over ground that had already been explored by the Dutch. Banks says the crew were rather sickly, they

"were pretty far gone with the longing for home, which the physicians have gone so far as to esteem a disease under the name of Nostalgia. Indeed I can find hardly anybody in the ship clear of its effects, but the Captain, Dr Solander, and myself, and we three have ample constant employment for our minds, which, I believe to be the best if not the only remedy for it."

The fact that they were on short allowance of food would also have a depressing effect on the crew, and when they learnt that Cook had made up his mind to waste no further time, but to return to civilisation as quickly as possible, there was a marked improvement in the general health.

No natives were seen from the ship, but, on the pinnace, in which were Cook, Banks, and Solander, nearing the shore, a small hut was perceived. The boat

was unable to approach nearer than about 200 yards, and the occupants had to wade. Voices were heard in the woods, which were very thick with creepers and undergrowth, and it was thought inadvisable to attempt to enter, so they walked along the shore for a short distance, seeing several footprints. After proceeding a little way they were suddenly attacked by three or four men, who rushed out of the timber and appeared to throw something which Banks says flashed like powder and produced a smoke, but did no further damage; a musket being discharged they again disappeared amongst the trees. As there seemed no possibility of seeing anything of the country, the party retired to the boats, followed at a distance by a large number of the natives. Sail was then made to the west, contrary to the wish of several of the officers who wanted to land a party and cut down some of the cocoanut trees for the sake of the nuts; but Cook refused to entertain the idea as he felt sure the natives would attempt to defend their own property, and he would not risk the sacrifice of life for a few nuts.

On 10th September the Island of Timor was sighted, and it was suggested that the ship should put into Concordia, a Dutch settlement, for refreshments, but Cook, being aware that the Dutch had a great dislike to strangers entering any except their chief ports in the East Indies, refused to go where he "might expect to be but indifferently treated."

On the 16th Banks notes a peculiar light in the sky, which was most probably the Aurora Australis; he describes the heavens as being of a dull reddish hue, through which rays of a brighter coloured light played for some hours. The next day they saw on the island of Savu, houses, cattle, and cocoanuts, so Gore was sent ashore to endeavour to purchase some fresh food, as the health of the crew required some change; and Cook says that since he had refused to call in at

Concordia their tempers had been indifferent. A good anchorage near a village was pointed out to Gore, and the ship at once proceeded to it. As soon as the *Endeavour* was in safety Cook went ashore, and was met by a small armed party under the Dutch flag, and was received by the chief man, who afterwards entertained them at a dinner consisting chiefly of pork and rice, washed down by palm wine. After some little trouble with the Dutch agent, and a judicious present to an old chief, who appeared to have considerable influence, they obtained a good supply of fowls, buffalo and "syrup"; this last was palm wine thickened by boiling, and proved to be a valuable antiscorbutic. For the first two buffaloes, Cook had to pay the sum of ten pounds, for the special advantage of the Dutch representative; but afterwards was able to obtain as many as he wanted for a musket each. Banks says, "The beef was not particularly good, and the mutton was the worst I have ever eaten, the sheep being more like goats." He describes the country with its groves of cocoanuts and fan palms as very lovely, although they had not had rain for seven months. After the monotonous and barren-looking coast of New Holland it must indeed have been a change.

On 30th September as they were now nearing Batavia, Cook collected all logs and journals that had been kept on board the ship, and strictly enjoined every one not to divulge where they had been, according to his instructions from the Admiralty. Off Java Head the main topsail was very badly split in a squall, and Cook remarks that all his sails are in such a condition that "they will hardly stand the least puff of wind." No observations had been possible since leaving Savu, and the strong western current had thrown out their dead reckoning, so that they ran past the entrance to the Straits of Sunda; but on 1st October they picked up their position, and in the mouth of the Straits they

met a Dutch vessel, which gave them the first European news they had received since leaving home, upwards of two years previously. One of the items was that Captain Carteret of the *Swallow* had reached England with his ship in safety. At the time of their leaving he had not been heard of since he had parted with his consort the *Dolphin*.

The current in the Straits was so strong that they were nine days beating through, and during that time were often compelled to anchor to prevent themselves from being carried back. On the 5th they were met by a Dutch officer in a proa, who brought a form to be filled up, containing nine questions, as to their nationality, whence they came, whither bound, etc., which Cook could not answer without disregarding his instructions. He was then informed that the information was merely for the satisfaction of his friends, so he contented himself with giving the name and nationality of his ship, and his points of departure and return as Europe. On the day of their arrival at Batavia, 10th October, they anchored in the roads, and Lieutenant Hicks was sent ashore to announce them formally to the Governor, and to explain that owing to their having only three guns available, it was impossible to salute the Dutch flag in a proper manner; and the explanation was courteously received.

The ship was now thoroughly surveyed, and the carpenter reported that her hull was suffering from the effects of the stranding on the reef off the coast of New Holland, and she was making a large amount of water, "from 12 to 6 inches per hour," and the pumps were in very bad order; the masts and yards were otherwise in pretty good condition, and, in consequence of this report, Cook applied to the Governor, General van der Parra, for a convenient place to heave down and repair, and for permission to purchase such stores and refreshments as he might require. This application was made

personally and was courteously received, every assistance being at once promised. As money would be required for his expenses, and, as there appeared to be no private person in the place in a position to cash his bills, he referred to the Governor, who immediately ordered the officer in charge of the port and town to provide him with whatever amount he might find necessary.

During a heavy thunderstorm on the 12th, a Dutch East Indiaman that was anchored about two cable lengths away from the *Endeavour* was struck by lightning and her mainmast split "all to shivers." The *Endeavour* was also struck,

"and in all probability we should have shared the same fate as the Dutchman, had it not been for the electric chain which we had but just before got up; this carried the Lightning or Electrical matter over the side clear of the ship."

The sentry on duty on the quarter-deck was struck down, but apparently not seriously injured.

On the 25th October Cook was able to reopen communications with the Admiralty, forwarding to Mr Stephens by the hands of Captain F. Kelgar of the Dutch East Indiaman, *Kronenberg*, a packet containing a copy of his Journal (the copy sold to Mr John Corner in 1890), charts of the South Seas, New Zealand, and the East Coast of Australia, and the following letter:

"SIR,—Please to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I left Rio de Janeiro, the 8th of December 1768, and on the 16th of Jany. following, arrived in Success Bay in Straits La Maire, where we recruited our wood and water. On the 21st of the same month we quitted Straits La Maire, and arrived at George's Island on the 13th of April. In our passage to this Island I made a far more Westerly Track than any ship had ever before done, yet it was attended with no discovery until we arrived within the Tropic, where we

discovered several Islands. We met with as friendly a reception by the natives of George Island as I could wish, and I took care to secure ourselves in such a manner as to put it out of the power of the whole island to drive us off. Some days preceding the 3rd of June, I sent Lieutenant Hicks to the Eastern portion of this Island, and Lieutenant Gore to York Island with others of the officers (Mr Green having furnished them with instruments), to observe the Transit of Venus, that we may have the better chance of succeeding should the day prove unfavourable, but in this we were so fortunate, that the observations were everywhere attended with every favourable circumstance. It was the 13th of July before I was ready to quit this Island, after which I spent near a month in exploring some other Islands which lay to the Westward, before we steered to the Southward. On the 14th of August we discover'd a small Island laying in the Lat^de. of 22° 27′ S., Long^de. 150° 47′ W^t.

"After quitting this Island I steered to the S^t. inclining a little to the East until we arrived in the Lat^de. 40° 12′ S^t. without seeing the least signs of Land. After this I steer'd to the Westward, between the Lat^de. of 30° and 40° until the 6th of October, on which day we discover'd the East Coast of New Zealand which I found consisted of two Large Islands extending from 34° to 40° of South Lat^de. both of which I circumnavigated. On the 1st April 1770 I quitted New Zealand and steer'd to the Westward until I fell in with the East Coast of New Holland in the Latitude of 38° S^t. I coasted the shore of this country to the north, putting in at such places as I saw convenient, until we arrived in the Latitude of 15° 45′ S^t., when on the night of the 10th of June we struck upon a Reef of Rocks, where we lay 23 hours and received some very considerable damage. This proved a fatal stroke to the remainder of the voyage, as we were obliged to take shelter in the first Port we met with, where we were detain'd repairing the damage we had sustain'd, until the 4th of August, and after all put to sea with a leaky ship, and afterwards coasted the shore to the northward through the most dangerous Navigation that, perhaps, ever ship was in until the 22nd of same month when, being in the Latitude of 10° 30′ S., we found a passage into the

Indian Sea between the northern extremity of New Holland and New Guinea, which we made on the 29th, but as we found it absolutely necessary to heave the ship down to stop her leaks before we proceeded home, I made no stay here but quitted this coast on the 3rd of September and made the best of my way to Batavia where we arrived on the tenth instant, and soon after obtained leave of the Governor and Council to be hove down at Onrust, where we have but just got alongside of the wharf in order to take out our stores, etc.

"I send herewith a copy of my Journal containing the proceedings of the whole Voyage, together with such Charts as I have had time to copy, which I judge will be sufficient for the present to illustrate said Journal. In this Journal, I have with undisguised Truth and without gloss, inserted the whole transactions of the Voyage, and made such remarks and have given such descriptions of things as I thought was necessary, in the best manner I was capable of. Although the discoverys made in the Voyage are not great, yet I flatter myself they are such as may merit the Attention of their Lordships, and altho' I have failed in discovering the so much talked of Southern Continent (which perhaps do not exist), and which I myself had much at heart, yet I am confident that no part of the failure of such discovery can be laid to my charge. Had we been so fortunate not to have run ashore, much more would have been done in the latter part of the Voyage than what was, but as it is, I presume this Voyage will be found as compleat as any before made to the S^t. Seas on the same acc^t.

"The plans I have drawn of the places I have been at, were made with all the care and accuracy that Time and Circumstances would admit of. Thus far I am certain that the Latitude and Longitude of few parts of the World are better settled than these, in this I was very much assisted by Mr Green, who let slip no one opportunity for making observations for settling the Long^de. during the whole course of the Voyage, and the many valuable discoverys made by Mr Banks and Dr Solander in Natural History and other things useful to the learned World, cannot fail of contributing very much to the success of the Voyage. In justice to the officers and the whole of the crew, I must say, they have gone

through the fatigues and dangers of the Whole Voyage with that cheerfulness and alertness that will always do honour to the British Seamen, and I have the satisfaction to say that I have not lost one man by Sickness during the whole Voyage. I hope that the repairs wanting to the Ship will not be so great as to detain us any length of time; You may be assured that I shall make no unnecessary delay either here or at any other place, but shall make the best of my way home.—I have the honour to be with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"JAMES COOK."

"*Endeavour* Bark
"at Onrust, near Batavia,
"the 23rd of October 1770,
"To Philip Stephens, Esq."

As Cook observes in this letter, the ship had been marvellously free from disease of any kind, more particularly from scurvy. Of the latter, the surgeon reported on their arrival at home, that he had only five cases during the whole of the voyage, a report such as had never before been made by one of His Majesty's ships after a voyage of any considerable length, and was most undoubtedly due to the careful forethought and constant attention of her commander, to everything, no matter how trivial, which he thought would tend to prevent the horrible scourge from getting a foothold on board. On 15th October the Journal says:

"Upon our arrival here, I had not one man upon the Sick List, Lieut. Hicks, Mr Green, and Tupia, were the only people that had any complaints occasioned by a long continuance at sea."

Banks also notes that there were no sick on board, and contrasts the rosy healthy appearance of the crew with the pallid faces of the Europeans of Batavia.

But now a terrible change was to come over the picture. On 26th October, a series of disastrous entries are commenced in the Journal. "Set up the ship's

tents for the reception of the ship's company, several of them begin to be taken ill, owing as I suppose, to the extream hot weather." Batavia had an ill-omened name, and it has been estimated that in the twenty years, from 1735 to 1755, over 1,000,000 deaths took place there, chiefly from malarial fever and its constant companion, dysentery. Cook early had cause to regret that the Dutch had undertaken the repairs of the ship, and that whilst they were at work, his men "must stand and look on." He well knew the evil effects of want of occupation in such a climate, though he could not have foreseen what it was to cost him. At this time the number of deaths from all causes had been, since the day of leaving Plymouth, only seven, viz.: three by drowning, two frozen to death (negro servants of Mr Banks), one from consumption, and one from alcoholic poisoning. Probably a record without equal in the History of Navigation.

The first one to succumb to the fatal malaria was Mr Monkhouse, the surgeon, who died on 5th November, and on 9th November Cook says: "By this time we were so weakened by sickness that we could not muster above twenty men and officers that were able to do duty;" and on the 14th he was very ill himself, but refused to leave his ship. Banks and his party, in hopes of lessening the danger of infection, went to live at an hotel in Batavia where they received very poor accommodation for 8s. per day each, but they soon began to feel the effects of the disease, and both he and Dr Solander became seriously ill, the latter being given up as hopeless on the 12th; they were advised to take a house on the hills, and both began to amend, and eventually recovered.

Meanwhile the ship had been hove down, and it was found to be in a far worse condition than had been expected. Two planks and a half were found to have been rasped down by the rocks to the thickness

of not more than one-eighth of an inch for a length of some six feet,

"and here the worms had made their way quite into the timbers, so that it was a matter of surprise to every one who saw her bottom, how we have kept her above water, and yet in this condition we had sailed some hundreds of Leagues in as dangerous a navigation as in any part of the world, happy in being ignorant of the continual danger we were in."

However, by the 14th, her bottom was thoroughly repaired, and Cook says:

"In justice to the officers and workmen of this yard, I must say that I do not believe there is a Marine Yard in the World where work is done with more alertness than here, or where there are better conveniences for heaving ships down, both in point of safety and Despatch. 17th to 25th November, Employed rigging the ship, getting on board stores and water, which last we have sent down from Batavia at the rate of 6 shillings and 8 pence a leager or 150 gallons. We are now become so sickly that we seldom can muster above 12 or 14 hands to do duty."

The water supply was a perquisite of the Commodore of the Dutch East India fleet, and Cook says: "He always takes care to tell you it is very good, and will keep sweet at sea, whereas everybody else will tell you that it is not so."

Whilst waiting for the ship to be fitted for sea, Cook attended at the ceremony of appointing the Commodore of the homeward bound fleet by the Governor, which took place every year, and

"was one of the grandest sights Batavia afforded; that may be too, and yet it did not recompense us for our trouble. I thought that the whole was but ill conducted, and the fleet appear'd to be very badly mann'd."

On 18th December Mr Reynolds, one of Mr Banks's

staff of artists, died, and on the 24th, two able seamen. On the 24th, also, Cook took formal leave of the Governor, being ready for sea, with a good supply of fresh provisions on board; but before leaving they had a little unpleasantness about a seaman who had "run" from one of the Dutch ships and entered on the *Endeavour*. He was claimed by the Dutch on the grounds that he was a Dane, born in Elsinore. Cook promised, after some discussion, that if he was satisfied that the man was not a British subject he would give him up, and caused a careful enquiry to be made by Mr Hicks. That officer's report was forwarded to the Governor through the officer in charge of the port, and nothing further was heard on the subject. The supposed Dane had turned out to be an Irishman, and is entered on the roll as James Mara; he was afterwards in the *Resolution* as gunner's mate.

The day after Christmas Day they sailed once more; this time for the Cape of Good Hope, direct, and on leaving were saluted by the garrison with fourteen guns, and by the *Earl of Elgin*, English East Indiaman, Captain Cooke in command, with thirteen guns and three cheers, "all of which we return'd."

On leaving, Cook says the number of sick amounted to forty or more, and the remainder were in a very weakly condition, having all been sick, except the sail-maker, an old man of from seventy to eighty years of age, "and what is still more extraordinary in this man, is his being generally more or less drunk every day." The total number of deaths at Batavia had amounted to seven, amongst them being those of Tupia and his boy; and Cook attributes their deaths chiefly to the absence of that vegetable diet to which they had always been accustomed. He describes Tupia as a shrewd, sensible, ingenious, but proud and obstinate man; the two latter qualities often making his position on board ship disagreeable to him.

On 7th January 1771 they anchored at Prince's Island, in the Straits of Sunda, in order to get a supply of wood and some more water, and, as they found the natives were reasonable in their dealings, they purchased turtles and fowls, and in hopes of diminishing the sickness, which appeared to be worse than ever, any one was allowed to purchase whatever he fancied for himself. The trading was done with Spanish dollars, and "such of our people as had not this article traded with old shirts, etc., at a great disadvantage." On leaving Prince's Island, the sickness increased, and dysentery, a frequent companion of malarial fever, became rampant, and was attributed to the water obtained at that place. On 24th January, Corporal Trusslove of the Marines died; Cook says he was much liked and respected by every man on board the ship.

Every precaution that could be thought of was tried, and the whole ship was washed out with vinegar and thoroughly fumigated, but nothing stayed the pestilence. Mr Sporing, of Mr Banks's staff, died on the 25th, and Mr Parkinson, artist, on the 27th, on which date also, the old sail-maker, Thomas Ravenhill, died. On the 29th Mr Green died; he had been ill for a long time, but Cook says he would take no care of himself. He seems, to judge from his own Journal, to have been a rather difficult person to get on with, and it is curious to note that in Banks's Journal there is hardly any reference whatever to him. His services as observer were, however, invaluable to Cook, and he appears at all times and seasons to have devoted himself to his own special line of duty; indeed, he sometimes seems to have thought that every one else ought to have put aside their own work to assist him.

On the 30th two of the carpenter's crew died, and on the 31st four men; on 2nd February one man; on the 3rd one man; on the 4th Midshipman Bootie and John

Gatherey, the boatswain; on the 6th, Midshipman Monkhouse; on the 12th John Satterly, the carpenter, whom Cook says was "much esteem'd by me and every gentleman on board." On the 14th A. Lindsay, A.B., who joined the ship at Batavia; on the 15th a Marine; on the 21st a seaman; and on the 27th three more of the crew. These closed the terrible list of losses, and it was remarked that as soon as the ship entered the south-east trade winds, there was a distinct change for the better in the health of the crew, and Cook was of opinion that the prevalence of the east wind had a great deal to do with the ill-health on board. It was afterwards discovered that the season had been unusually unhealthy. The *Houghton*, an East Indiaman they met at the Cape, had lost between thirty and forty men, and had then a large number ill, but she had suffered chiefly from scurvy; several other ships sailing to the East Indies were also found to have lost heavily. Cook says:

"Thus we find that ships which have been little more than twelve months from England have suffer'd as much or more by sickness than we have done, who have been out near three times as long. Yet their sufferings will hardly, if at all, be mentioned or known in England; when, on the other hand, those of the *Endeavour*, because the voyage is uncommon, will very probably be mentioned in every News Paper, and, what is not unlikely with many Additional hardships we never Experienced; for such are the dispositions of men in general in these Voyages, that they are seldom content with the Hardships and Dangers which will naturally occur, but they must add others which hardly ever had existence but in their imaginations by magnifying the most Trifling accidents and Circumstances to the greatest Hardships, and unsurmountable Dangers without the immediate interposition of Providence, as if the whole merit of the Voyages consisted in the real dangers and Hardships they underwent, or that the real ones did not happen often enough to give the mind sufficient anxiety. Thus posterity are taught to look upon these Voyages as hazardous to the highest degree."

On 5th March land was believed to have been seen to the northward, but as this was considered to be impossible it was not reported to Cook till the evening. He at once ordered soundings to be taken, but no bottom was found with eighty fathoms, so he stood on, concluding that a mistake had been made; however, at daylight the next morning, land was visible about two leagues off, which turned out to be the African coast near Cape Natal; and on 10th March the Cape of Good Hope was sighted. The first thing to be done on their arrival was to provide a suitable house for the sick, of whom he landed twenty-eight, and during the stay the remainder of the crew were afforded every possible opportunity of being ashore, for Cook recognised that the most thorough change from sea life was the best method of enabling his men to shake off the effects of the Batavian fever.

On 13th April, a Dutch ship came in with the news that when she left home war was expected between England and Spain. This information made Cook very anxious to be off, and as his refitting was about completed, he placed all his sick on board—some of them being still very ill. He had lost three more whilst at the Cape, but had been able to enter six men, thus bringing up his number to somewhere near the complement. He left the harbour, and finding some things had been forgotten in the hurry of departure, anchored off Penguin Island, and sent a boat ashore to see if anything could be obtained there, but no one was allowed to land. Banks, who was with the boat, believed it to be on account of a mistake as to the rank of the officer in command, but Cook thought that the island was used as a prison, and that there was a fear that some one might escape; he also suggests that there might have been some sailors of English nationality hidden away to prevent his pressing them as he had a right to do if he got the opportunity, and he adds,

"it is well known that the Dutch East India ships are mostly mann'd by Foreigners."

He was not much impressed with the Cape for he says:

"Most authors have heightened the picture to a very great degree above what it will bear; so that a stranger is at once struck with surprise and disappointment, for no country we have seen this voyage affords so barren a prospect as this, and not only so in appearance but in reality." Further on he says: "Notwithstanding the many disadvantages this country labours under such is the industry, economy, and good management of the Dutch, that not only the necessary, but all the Luxuries of Life are raised here in great abundance, and are sold as cheap, if not cheaper, than in any part of Europe, some few articles excepted."

With regard to naval stores, which could only be purchased from the Dutch East India Company, as in Batavia, they were sold at a certain fixed and exorbitant price from which there was no deviation.

On 16th April Mr Molineaux, the Master, died, of whose intelligence Cook speaks very highly, but deplores his want of steadiness, which was the cause of his early death. Mr Pickersgill was appointed to the vacancy.

St Helena was sighted on 1st May, and the *Endeavour* let go her anchor at noon, finding H.M.Ss. *Portland* and *Swallow* in the roads, with a convoy. The *Swallow* was not the one that had been in the Pacific with Carteret, but a new one; the old ship having been broken up. The *Portland* was able to furnish some few much needed stores and the satisfactory information that all danger of a war between England and Spain was at an end. They all sailed in company on the 5th, but on the 10th Cook signalled to the *Portland* that he wished to speak with her, so Captain Elliott went on board the *Endeavour*, when Cook explained that as

his ship, sails, and rigging were naturally not in first-class order after so long a voyage, he was afraid he might not be able to keep up with the others, and he therefore wished the *Portland* to take a letter and box from him to the Admiralty.

The letter informed Mr Stephens that he had sent by the hands of Captain F. Kelgar of the Dutch East Indiaman, a letter describing the voyage up to the time of reaching Batavia, and the charts and plans necessary for understanding the course he had taken. He draws attention to "that uninterrupted state of health we had all along enjoyed," which was so suddenly and unfortunately to cease; and he remarks that the dysentery which proved so fatal on the voyage between Batavia and the Cape did not seem to be affected by any of the medicines with which they were supplied, "however skilfully administered." He notified his arrival at the Cape and St Helena, and his departure from the latter place in company with the *Portland* and her convoy, and that in consequence of his doubting his ability to keep up with the others he "had put on board the *Portland* such of the officers' Journals and Charts as I think will give most insight into the Voyage, having not a copy of my own ready." These letters and charts were not long in advance of Cook himself, for the *Portland* only reached England three days before him.

For some days after handing over the Journals the *Endeavour* kept within easy reach of the fleet, and was able to obtain the services of the surgeon of the *Houghton* for the benefit of Lieutenant Hicks, who was very ill with consumption. Cook says that he was suffering from this disease when they left England, but held out well till they reached Batavia, where he had an attack of fever, and though for a time he rallied he could not recover his strength, and, gradually sinking, died on 25th May. The next day Mr Charles

Clerke was appointed third lieutenant in the place of Mr Gore promoted to second lieutenant.

On the 23rd they were slightly ahead of the fleet, and even on 21st June still had some of the ships in sight, but during that night they were caught in a heavy squall, and the main topgallant sail was split and the topmast sprung. In fact the sails and rigging were now in such a bad condition that something or other was always giving way. On 7th July they spoke a brig from London to the Grenades, three days out from Scilly, and from her they learnt that no account of their proceedings had so far been made public, and that wagers were being made that the *Endeavour* was lost.

On 10th July land was sighted by Nicholas Young, the same lad who had been the first to see New Zealand, and was judged to be Land's End; and the Lizard was seen the next day. On Saturday, 13th July 1771, "at 3 o'clock in the P.M. anchor'd in the Downs and soon after I landed in order to repair to London."

Before leaving the ship he wrote as follows to Mr Stephens:

"*Endeavour Bark*, DOWNS.
"*The 13th of July* 1771.

"SIR,—It is with pleasure I have to request that you will be pleased to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty with the arrival of His Majesty's Bark under my command at this place where I shall leave her to wait until further orders, and in obedience to their Lordships' orders immediately and with this letter repair to their office, in order to lay before them a full account of the proceedings of the whole Voyage.

"I make no doubt but what you have received my Letter and Journal forwarded from Batavia in a Dutch Ship in October last, likewise my letters of the 10th of May together with some of the officers' Journals which I put on board His Majesty's Ship *Portland*, since which time nothing material hath happen'd excepting the death of Lieutenant Hicks; the vacancy made on this

occasion I filled up by appointing Mr Charles Clerke, a young man well worthy of it, and as such, must beg leave to recommend him to their Lordships. This as well as all other appointments made in the Bark vacant by the death of former officers, agreeable to the enclosed list, will I hope meet with their approbation.

"You will herewith receive my Journal containing an account of the proceedings of the whole voyage, together with all the Charts, Plans, and Drawings I have made of the respective places we have touched at, which you will be pleased to lay before their Lordships. I flatter myself that the latter will be found sufficient to convey a tolerable knowledge of the places they are intended to illustrate, and that the discoveries we have made tho' not great will apologise for the length of the Voyage.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, JAMES COOK."

On 2nd August Mr Stephens wrote in reply to "Lieut. Cook, *Endeavour Bark*, sent to him at his house at Mile End," as follows:

"SIR,—I received your several letters dated the 23rd of October 1770 at Batavia, 10th May last, at sea, and 12th of last month, in the Downs, with the several Journals and Charts to which you therein refer me, and having laid the same before My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that their Lordships extremely well approve of the whole of your proceedings and that they have great satisfaction in the account you have given them of the good behaviour of your officers and men and of the cheerfulness and alertness with which they went through the fatigues and dangers of their late Voyage.

"Their Lordships command me to add, they have signed a commission for Mr Clerke to be 3rd Lieutenant of the *Endeavour*, and Warrants for Samuel Evans and Geo. Nowell to be Boatswain and Carpenter of her, and that they will be paid for the time they respectively acted in those qualities by virtue of your appointment.

"Their Lordships have also recommended it to the Navy Board to do the like with respect to the Surgeon

and Master whom you appointed upon the death of Mr Monkhouse and Mr Molineaux,—I am, Sir, etc., etc.,
"P. STEPHENS."

The following promotions and appointments on account of the voyage are to be found in the "Commissions and Warrants Book" in the Public Records office:

Mr Charles Clerke, Lieutenant's Commission to the *Endeavour*, confirmed 31st July 1771.
Saml. Evans, Boatswain, *Endeavour*, 31st July; *Stromboli*, 10th August.
G. Nowell, Carpenter, *Endeavour*, 31st July; *Scorpion*, 15th August.
R. Hutchings, Boatswain, *Endeavour*, 10th August, then to *Flamborough*.
R. Orton, Purser, *Levant*, 12th August.
R. Hughes, Carpenter, *Endeavour*, 15th August.
Mr James Cook (2nd) Commander *Scorpion*, 29th August.
Mr R. Pickersgill, Lieutenant, *Scorpion*, 29th August.
James Gray, Boatswain, *Cruizer*, 29th August; *Resolution*, December 18.
S. Forward, Gunner, *Surprise*, 18th September.
R. Anderson, Gunner, *Resolution*, 12th December.
Thos. Hardiman, Boatswain, *Cruizer*, 12th December.

The last-named had been with Cook since 1767, and would have been appointed boatswain to the *Resolution* for the next voyage, but his health was very bad at the time, so he was appointed to a ship on the home station.

The Sergeant of Marines, John Edgecombe, whom Cook describes as "a good soldier, very much of a Gentleman," was given a lieutenant's commission in the Marines, and will be again met with on the *Resolution*.

Cook also drew attention to Isaac Smith and Isaac Manly as

"both too young for preferment, yet their behaviour merits the best recommendation. The former was of

great use to me in assisting to make surveys, plans, drawings, etc., in which he is very expert."

The result of this recommendation was that the first was appointed to the *Resolution* as Master's Mate, and the second as Midshipman.

Bingley's Journal for Monday, 15th July 1771, announces:

"On Saturday last an express arrived at the Admiralty with the agreeable news of the arrival at the Downs of the *Endeavour*, Capt. Cooke, from the East Indies. This ship sailed in August 1768, with Mr Banks, Dr Solander, Mr Green, and other ingenious Gentlemen on board, for the South Seas, to observe the Transit of Venus; they have since made a Voyage round the world, and touched at every coast and island, where it was possible to get on shore to collect every species of plants and other rare productions in nature. Their voyage upon the whole has been as agreeable and successful as they could have expected, except the death of Mr Green, who died upon his passage from Batavia. Dr Solander has been a good deal indisposed, but it is hoped a few days' refreshment will soon establish his health. Capt. Cooke and Mr Banks, we have the pleasure to inform the public, are perfectly well."

On 23rd July the same paper informs the public that: "Upon their arrival the Admiralty seized all the officers' papers. In consequence of this discovery, more ships will be destined in search of this new terrestrial acquisition." On 27th July Bingley has some further information, but hardly very exact.

"His Majesty's Ship, the *Endeavour*, which is lately arrived in the River from the East Indies, lost by the unhealthiness of the climate, 70 of her hands, tho' they were picked men, and had been several times in the Indies. However, those who survive will have made their fortunes by traffic, having brought home some of the richest goods made in the east, which they are

suffered to dispose of without the inspection of the Custom House officers. This, our correspondent says, is allowed them by the Government as a reward for their hard and dangerous service during a voyage of three years."

The amount of the "richest goods made in the East" that they obtained from New Zealand, Australia, and Otaheite, would be but a poor reward for three years' service; and Cook's premonition that his losses would be exaggerated is here proved true.

In reference to Cook's report to the Admiralty on the conduct of his crew, it is worthy of note that there appear to have been only twenty-one punishments entered in the log during the whole voyage; the heaviest sentence being two dozen lashes for theft—a wonderful contrast to the usual returns of those days. In one case, that of Mathew Cox, A.B., for "disobedience and mutinous conduct," the culprit proceeded civilly against Cook, on their arrival in England, and the Admiralty instructed their solicitor to defend. The result of the case has not been ascertained; it was probably allowed to drop.

The good ship, which had so bravely borne them throughout their long voyage, was not given much rest, but was ordered to pay off at Woolwich as soon as conveniently might be; she was not to be dismantled more than was absolutely necessary, and, on 8th August 1771, Lieutenant James Gordon was appointed to command her, with orders to fit for sea with a complement of forty-five men and six months' provisions; to take in his guns and gunners' stores at Galleon's Reach, and to proceed to the Nore for further orders. On the same date, the Commissioners for Victualling were ordered to freight her with stores for the Falkland Islands, for which place Lieutenant Gordon received sailing orders on 16th October. On her arrival at her destination she was laden with "perishable and

unserviceable" stores, and sent back to England. In November 1772 she again loaded up with stores and a shallop for the Falklands, whence she returned and was ordered to pay off and lay up at Deptford on 13th August 1773; but on 23rd November she was ordered to fit for sea at once, with a complement of thirty-five men, and proceed without delay to Boston to take the place of the Britannia store ship, which had been destroyed by fire. She sailed from the Downs and when off the Lizard the sealed orders were opened, and she was sent again to the Falklands instead of America.

She brought away the small garrison and the stores as the islands were to be handed over to Spain. She arrived in England again, and paid off at Woolwich in September 1774, and shortly afterwards the undated word "sold" appears against her name in the records. Mr G. W. Waddington, on the authority of Sir Evan MacGregor, Secretary to the Admiralty, states that she was sold in 1775 for the sum of £645. Various statements have been made as to her ultimate fate, but in no case is the evidence quite conclusive. The *Daily Telegraph*, in a leading article published on 9th November 1897, stated that,

"not very long ago, indeed, the *Endeavour*, if not the *Resolution*, those marvellous exploring vessels of Cook's, were to be seen in the coal tiers at Erith, on the London River, and possibly one of these still exist."

The editor was unable or unwilling to give his authority, and the statement is absolutely incorrect as regards both vessels. Admiral Wharton says, that after being sold she was trading for some years as a collier, but he does not give any authority. This is generally believed to have been the case, and that she was chiefly sailing in the North Sea.

One day, Mr Gibbs, of the firm of Gibbs and Canning of Newport R.I., walking with the English

Consul of that place, pointed out to him the remains of an old vessel rapidly falling to decay, and informed him that that was the old *Endeavour* in which Captain Cook sailed round the world. He explained that in 1790, the French Government were very anxious to compete with England in the whale fishery, and offered a bounty to those ships that engaged in that trade under the French flag. A Mr W. Hayden purchased the old ship from a firm in Dunkirk, re-christened her *La Liberté*, loaded her with a cargo of oil, and consigned her to Newport under the French colours, to Messrs Gibbs and Canning. After being chased by an English ship, she arrived in Newport and lay alongside one of the wharves for some months, and then, having at last received a cargo, she ran aground in trying to leave the harbour, and proving on survey to be in a very bad condition, she was allowed to remain where she was and drop to pieces. It appears that the credentials of the old ship were considered satisfactory, for a box was carved out of its timbers and presented to J. Fenimore Cooper, the American author, together with letters from the English Consul and other gentlemen, authenticating as far as possible the vessel from which the wood had been taken. This gift is mentioned in a preface written by Miss Cooper to her father's novel, "The Red Rover," and it is quite possible that the papers spoken of are still in the possession of some member of the Cooper family. Several other relics of the old ship are to be found in the neighbourhood of Newport, including the Sampson Post, which at one time was planted in one of the streets, but was afterwards removed and preserved in the office of Mr Joshua Sayer of that town.

CHAPTER XII

1771—PREPARATIONS FOR VOYAGE II

AFTER reporting himself to the Admiralty on his arrival, Cook proceeded to his home at Mile End Old Town, and for some time was busily engaged in completing his Charts and Journal.

The Annual Register states that on 14th August

"Lieut. Cook of the Navy, who sailed round the globe with Dr Solander and Mr Banks, was introduced to His Majesty at St James's, and presented to His Majesty his Journal of his Voyage, with some curious maps and charts of different places that he had drawn during the voyage; he was presented with a captain's commission."

Notwithstanding the fact that he must have been very fully occupied, he found time to write two letters to Mr John Walker of Whitby, which, though they necessarily traverse old ground, are well worth reproduction.

"MILE END, LONDON,
"*17th August* 1770.

"DEAR SIR,—Your very obliging letter came safe to hand, for which, and your kind enquiries after my health, I return you my most sincere thanks. I should have wrote much sooner, but have been in expectation for several days past of an order to make my voyage public; after which I could have wrote with freedom. As this point is not yet determined upon, I lie under some restraint. I may, however, venture to inform

you, that the voyage has fully answered the expectations of my superiors.

"I had the honour of an hour's conference with the king the other day, who was pleased to express his approbation of my conduct, in terms that were extremely pleasing to me. I, however, have made no very great discoveries, yet I have explored more of the Great South Sea, than all that have gone before me; in so much, that little remains now to be done, to have a thorough knowledge of that part of the globe.

"I sailed from England, as well provided for such a voyage as possible, and a better ship for such a service I never could wish for. We touched first at Madeira, and took in wine; after that, at Rio Janeiro, where we recruited our provisions. We next touched in Straits le Maire, in a port in Terra del Fuego, where we took in wood and water. This was in the month of January, that is, in the midst of summer; yet the weather was exceedingly cold and stormy, with snow. We left this place towards the latter end of the month, and in about three weeks' time, got round the Cape Horn into the South Sea, without ever being once brought under our close reefed topsails. However, we had no want of wind. The highest south latitude we were in was 60° 12′; and here we had finer weather than in a lower latitude.

"We arrived at George's Island, the place of destination, on the 13th of April '69, having in our rout thither discovered several islands, which are of no great note. We met with a very friendly reception by the natives of George's Island, who supplied us with all manner of refreshments that the island afforded. We had here an extraordinary good observation of the Transit of Venus, which was one of the principal objects of the voyage.

"We left this island, after a stay of three months, and afterwards visited some others lying in its neighbourhood; where we were plentifully supplied with fresh provisions. We left these islands on the 9th of August, and steered to the Southward, in search of the so much talked of Southern Continent; which we did not find. Before we left the above islands, the voyage was very agreeable and pleasant, the remainder was attended with such a variety of circumstances that I

must defer to some other opportunity to enter upon it. Should I come to the North, I shall certainly call upon you, and am, with great respect, Sir, your most obliged humble servant.—

"JAMES COOK.[1]

"To Captain JOHN WALKER at Whitby."

The second letter is dated:

"MILE END ROAD,
"13*th September* 1771.

"SIR,—In my last I gave you some account of my voyage, so far as the South Sea Islands; the remainder shall be the subject of this letter. What I mean by the South Sea Islands, are those that lie within and about the tropics. They are in general small, and George's Island, which is only about 33 leagues in circuit, is one of the largest. The inhabitants of this island gave us an account and the names of 130 islands lying in these seas. They are of two kinds, very low, or very mountainous. The low islands are such as are called Keys in the West Indies; that is, mostly shoals, ledges of rock, etc. The chief produce of the firm land is cocoanuts. These and fish, with which all these islands abound, are the chief support of the inhabitants. The mountainous parts of the high islands are in general dry and barren, and, as it were, burned up with the sun: but all these islands are skirted round with a border of low land which is fertile and pleasant to a very high degree, being well clothed with fruit trees, which nature hath planted here for the use of the happy natives. These people may be said to be exempted from the curse of our forefathers. Scarce can it be said that they earn their bread by the sweat of their brows. Benevolent nature hath not only provided them with necessaries, but many of the luxuries of life. Loaves of bread, or at least what serves as a most excellent substitute, grow here in a manner spontaneously upon trees; besides a great many other fruits and roots, and the sea coasts are well stored with a vast variety of excellent fish. They have only three species of tame animals, hogs, dogs, and fowls: all

of which they eat. Dogs we learnt from them also to eat, and there were but few among us, who did not think that a South Sea dog ate as well as an English lamb. Was I to give a full description of these islands, the manners and customs of the inhabitants, etc., it would far exceed the bounds of a letter. I must therefore quit these Terrestrial Paradises, in order to follow the course of our Voyage.

"In the beginning of August 1769, we quitted the tropical region, and steered to the southward, in the midst of the South Sea to the height of 40° without meeting with any land or the least visible signs of any; we then steered to the westward between the latitude of 30° and 40°, until we fell in with the coast of New Zealand, a very small part of the west coast of which was first discovered by Tasman in 1642; but he never once set foot upon it. This country was thought to be a part of the Southern Continent, but I have found it to be two large islands, both of which I circumnavigated in the space of six months. They extend from the latitude of 34° South to 47½° South, and are together nearly as big as Great Britain. It is a hilly, mountainous country, but rich and fertile; especially the northern part where it is also well inhabited. The inhabitants of this country are a strong, well-made, active people, rather above the common size. They are of a very dark brown colour with long black hair. They are also a brave, warlike people, with sentiments void of treachery. Their arms are spears, clubs, halberts, battleaxes, darts, and stones. They live in strongholds or fortified towns, built in well chosen situations and according to art. We had frequent skirmishes with them, always where we were not known, but firearms gave us the superiority. At first some of them were killed, but we at last learned how to manage them without taking away their lives; and when once peace was settled, they ever after were our very good friends. These people speak the same language as the people in the South Sea Islands we had before visited, though distant from them many hundred leagues, and of whom they have not the least knowledge or of any other people whatever. Their chief food is fish and fern roots; they have, too, in places, large plantations of potatoes such as we have

in the West Indies, and likewise yams, etc. Land animals they have none, either wild or tame, except dogs, which they breed for food. This country produceth a grass plant like flags, of the nature of hemp or flax, but superior in quality to either. Of this the natives make clothing, lines, nets, etc. The men very often go naked, with only a narrow belt about their waists; the women, on the contrary, never appear naked. Their government, religion, notions of the creation of the world, mankind, etc., are much the same as those of the natives of the South Sea Islands.

"We left this country on the 1st of April 1770, and steered for New Holland, all the east part of which remained undiscovered, my design being to fall in with the southern part called Van Diemen's Land; but the winds forced me to the northwards of it, about 40 leagues, so that we fell in with the land in latitude 38° South. I explored the coast of this country, which I called New South Wales, to the northern extremity; in the doing of which we were many times in great danger of losing the ship. Once we lay 23 hours upon a ledge of rocks, were obliged to throw our guns, and many of our stores overboard, received very much damage to her bottom, but by a fortunate circumstance got her into port and repaired her. Great part of this coast is covered with islands and shoals, which made the exploring it exceeding dangerous, even to a very great degree. We sailed upon this coast near 400 leagues by the lead, with sometimes one, sometimes two and three boats ahead to direct us, and yet with all this precaution, we were very often obliged to anchor with all sails standing to prevent running ashore. We at last surmounted all difficulties, and got into the Indian Sea by a passage entirely new.

"The East Coast of New Holland, or what I call New South Wales, extends from 38° to 10½°. If New Holland can be called an Island, it is by far the greatest in the known world. The interior part of this immense track of land is not at all known; what borders on the sea coast is a mixture of fertile and barren land: the soil, in general, is of a loose sandy nature. The natives of this country are not numerous; they are of a very dark brown or chocolate colour, with lank black hair; they are under the common size, and seem to be of a

timorous, inoffensive race of men. They spoke a very different language from any we had met with. Men, women, and children go wholly naked. It is said of our first parents that, after they had eaten the forbidden fruit, they saw themselves naked and were ashamed; these people are naked and are not ashamed. They live chiefly on fish, and wild fowl, and such other articles as the land naturally produceth; for they do not cultivate one foot of it. These people may truly be said to be in the pure state of nature, and may appear to some to be the most wretched upon earth; but in reality they are far more happy than we Europeans, being wholly unacquainted, not only with the superfluities, but with many of the necessary conveniences so much sought after in Europe; they are happy in not knowing the use of them. They live in a tranquillity which is not disturbed by the inequality of condition; the earth, and sea, of their own accord, furnish them with all things necessary for life; they covet not magnificent houses, household stuff, etc.; they sleep as sound in a small hovel, or even in the open air, as the King in his palace on a bed of down.

"After quitting New Holland, we steered for the Coast of New Guinea, where we landed but once; then made the best of our way to Batavia and in our way touched at an island, partly under the Dutch East India Company. Here we got plenty of refreshments, which came very acceptable.

"We arrived at Batavia in October all in good health and high spirits. On our arrival at a European settlement we thought all our hardships at an end, but Providence thought proper to order it otherwise. The repairs the ship wanted caused a delay of near 10 weeks, in which time we contracted sickness, that here, and on our passage to the Cape of Good Hope, carried off above 30 of my people. The remainder of the voyage was attended with no material circumstances.

"If any interesting circumstance should occur to me that I have omitted, I will hereafter acquaint you with it. I, however, expect that my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty will very soon publish the whole voyage, charts, etc.

"Another voyage is thought of with two ships, which if it takes place I believe the command will be

conferred upon me. If there is anything that I can inform you of in respect to my late voyage I shall take a pleasure in it, and believe me to be,—Your obliged servt.— JAMES COOK."

Cook, as has been shown, was appointed to the *Scorpion*; and he was ordered to fit for sea, with three months' provisions, and then to proceed to the Nore for further orders; but owing to his having to clear up his work relating to his late voyage, and then to the preparations for the new one which was almost immediately decided on, he had no time to see anything of his new ship.

Edgeworth, in his "Memoirs," states that in 1771 Cook was a very frequent visitor at Mr Louis Way's house, Denham Place, but as Mr Way, a Fellow of the Royal Society, died in that year, and also as Edgeworth about the same time speaks of "Omai of Otaheite" who came to England in the *Adventure*, it seems more than probable that he has confused Mr L. Way with his brother Mr Benjamin Way, also F.R.S., and a Director of the South Sea Company; and that the visits to Denham Place were paid after the return from the second voyage. In another place Edgeworth infers that in *1765* Sir Joseph Banks, Dr Solander, and Captain Cook were members of a club that met at Slaughter's Coffee House. Of course that is an error, as they were then quite unknown to each other, and it has been ascertained that, though frequently a guest, Cook was never a member of the Royal Societies Club—the one to which Edgeworth refers.

Fanny Burney, afterwards Madame d'Arblay, writes, under date 13th September 1771:

"My Father," Dr Charles Burney, "spent a few days lately at 'Hinchinbroke' (Lord Sandwich's) to meet Mr Banks, Captain Cook, and Dr Solander, recently returned from the South Seas,"

and it is evident that by this time the second voyage had been resolved on, for Dr Burney's son, James, was introduced to Cook by Lord Sandwich, with the idea of his accompanying the circumnavigator on his second voyage. Young Burney had entered at the age of ten years as midshipman in Admiral Montagu's ship. Shortly after this meeting Lord Sandwich and Dr Burney were at Houghton, the seat of Lord Orford, when the former asked if the Doctor could recommend any one who was capable of writing the history of the voyage of the *Endeavour*; and on his mentioning Dr Hawkesworth, Lord Sandwich desired that he should be introduced to him on their return to town. Fanny Burney destroyed a considerable portion of her memoirs, but kept a sort of index in which there are several references to Cook, whom apparently she met in society and in her own home.

The second voyage was decided on and, as was to be expected, the command was given to Cook. The discussion as to the existence of a Southern Continent was resumed with renewed vigour; many theorists, led by Dalrymple, contended that Cook had not finally settled the point, but had left far too much space untraversed. Cook, in his introduction to his account of the second voyage, says:

"To put an end to all diversity of opinion about a matter so curious and important, was His Majesty's principal motive in directing this voyage to be undertaken, the history of which is now submitted to the public, *i.e.*, the existence of another continent in the South."

It was decided that two ships were to be employed, and orders were issued as to the provision of suitable craft, and Cook, in writing about the selection of these vessels, says:

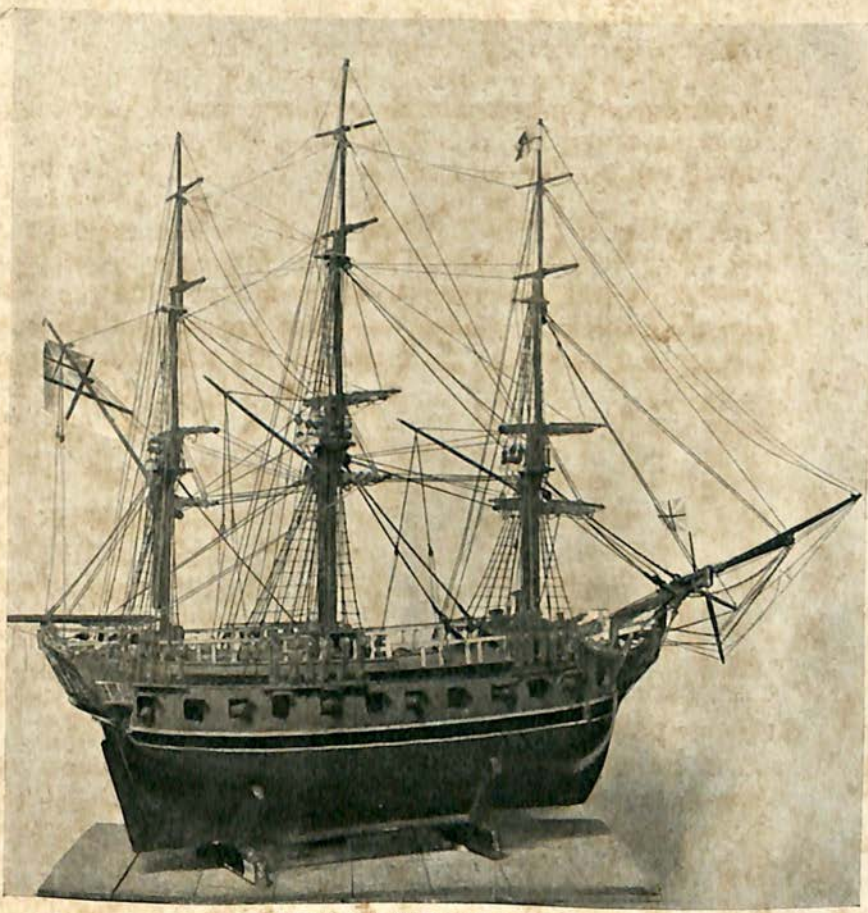
"The success of such undertakings as making

discoveries in distant parts of the world, will principally depend on the preparations being well adapted to what ought to be the first consideration, namely, the preservation of the adventurers and ships; and this will chiefly depend on the kind, the size, and the properties of the ships chosen for the service. These primary considerations will not admit of any other, that may interfere with the necessary properties of the ships. Therefore, in chusing the ships, should any of the most advantageous properties be wanting, and the necessary room in them be, in any degree, diminished for less important purposes, such a step would be laying a foundation for rendering the undertaking abortive in the first instance. The ship must not be of great draught but of sufficient capacity to carry a proper quantity of provisions and stores for the crew, and of such construction that she will bear to take the ground, and of such a size that she can be conveniently laid on shore if necessary for repairing any damages or defects, and these qualities are to be found in North Country built ships, such as are built for the coal trade, and in none other."

It was upon such considerations that the *Endeavour* had been selected, and to her qualities Cook attributed much of his success. He says that if other discoverers had had vessels more suitable to the purpose for which they were used, they would in all probability have been able to produce better results.

It has been stated that Cook selected these two vessels when in Whitby, but it will shortly be seen that they were purchased and entered in the Navy List some time before his visit to the north, so it may be assumed that they were purchased when in the Thames as the *Endeavour* was; and it seems very certain that they were selected by Cook himself. They were both built by Fishburn of Whitby, and were purchased from Captain W. Hammond of Hull.

The larger of the two was 462 tons burthen, cost £4,151, was received into the Royal Navy under the name of the *Drake*, and was fitted out at Deptford as a



MODEL OF THE *RESOLUTION*

Made at Messrs Fishburn's yard, and now in the Museum, Whitby.

[*To face p.* 226.

sloop, at a cost of £6,568 (this sum probably covering the cost of the final alterations as well as that of the original fitting). At the time of her purchase she was about fourteen months old.

The second ship of 336 tons, was received as the *Raleigh*, was also fitted at Deptford as a sloop, was eighteen months old at the time of purchase, and cost £2,103.

On 25th December the names of the two ships were changed, the *Drake* becoming the *Resolution*, and the *Raleigh* the *Adventure*.

The formal appointment of Cook to the command ran as follows:—

"Having appointed you Commander of His Majesty's Sloop *Drake*, at Deptford, which we have ordered to be sheathed, filled, fitted, and stored at that place for a voyage to remote parts, mann'd with one hundred, and ten men agreeable to the scheme hereto annexed, and victualled for Twelve months for the said complement with all species of provisions except beer, of which she is to have as much as she can conveniently stow: you are hereby required and directed to use the utmost despatch in getting her ready for the sea accordingly, and then falling down to Galleons Reach, take in her guns and gunners' stores at that place, and then proceed to the Nore for further orders.

"Given 28*th Novr.* 1771.

J. BULLER.
PALMERSTON.
A. HERVEY.

"To Capt. JOHN (*sic*) COOK.
Drake, Deptford."

The complement of the *Raleigh* (*Adventure*) was eighty, and to both ships two additional carpenters' mates were added later on. Cook received orders not to bear any servants on his books, but to take A.B.'s instead, and each officer entitled to a servant was "to be paid an allowance by Bill equal to the wages of the number of servants respectively allowed them."

The same day that Cook's appointment was written, the following commissions were issued:

Mr James Cook	Commander	*Drake*	Sloop
Mr Robert Palliser Cooper	1st Lieutenant	,,	,,
Mr Charles Clerke	2nd ,,	,,	,,
Mr Tobias Furneaux	Commander	*Raleigh*	,,
Lieut. Joseph Shank	1st Lieutenant	,,	,,

and the day following,

Lieut. Richard Pickersgill	3rd Lieutenant	*Drake*	,,

The *Vestal*, Frigate, was appointed receiving ship whilst the sloops were in the dry dock, and no difficulty was experienced in obtaining men. In fact so many came forward that Cook asked for directions as to whether he should discharge those he rejected or hand them over to other ships. Of the officers appointed he writes:

"I had all the reason in the World to be perfectly satisfied with the choice of the officers. The Second and Third Lieutenants, the Lieutenant of Marines, two of the Warrant officers, and several of the Petty officers had been with me during the former voyage. The others were men of known abilities, and all of them on every occasion showed their zeal for the service in which they were employed during the whole voyage."

Two days after receiving his orders, Cook hoisted his pendant and undertook the superintendence of the alterations that it had been decided should be made for the accommodation of the scientists who were to accompany the expedition under the ægis of Mr Banks. They were to comprise Dr Solander, Zoffani, the portrait painter, Dr Lynd of Edinburgh, to secure whose services Parliament had made a special grant of £4,000, though "what discoveries they expected him to make I could not understand," says Cook. Nine

others, draughtsmen and servants, completed the list, at least three more than were thought necessary when the vessel was purchased. The alterations required for their accommodation were

"to raise her upper works about a foot, to lay a spar deck upon her from the quarter-deck to the forecastle (she having at this time a low waist), and to build a round house or couch for my accommodation, so that the great cabin might be appropriated to the use of Mr Banks alone."

Captain Palliser, who at this time was Comptroller of the Navy, was strongly opposed to these alterations, as he asserted that they could not be carried out without seriously influencing the sailing qualities of the sloop, and though his opinion was overborne, it in the end proved to be correct.

As soon as these alterations were fairly under weigh, Cook wrote as follows to the Admiralty :—

"ADMIRALTY OFFICE,
"*14th December* 1771.

"Sir,—Having some business to transact in Yorkshire, as well as to see an aged father, please to move my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to grant me three weeks' leave of absence for that purpose. I am, etc., etc.,

"JAMES COOK."

This application was at once granted, and Cook went to Ayton, where his father was residing, and for the first time for seventeen years was again amongst his own people, unless, indeed, he had paid them a visit when he was on his way either to or from Leith in 1757; but of that there is no record. Whilst at Ayton he made the acquaintance of Commodore Wilson of the East India Company's service, which soon ripened into a firm friendship that lasted till the end. The Commodore had received that rank for his

distinguished conduct in saving three of the Company's ships from the attack of two French men-of-war off the Cape of Good Hope, and he had also, in 1759, discovered the passage through Pitt Straits, on the north-west of New Guinea, into the China Seas. From Ayton, Cook went to Whitby, and was met some miles out of that town by many of the leading men of the place. From the Walkers he received the heartiest of welcomes, and it is related that the old housekeeper, Mary Prowd, had been carefully instructed that a Commander in His Majesty's Navy was a very different person from one of her master's apprentices, and that he must be received with all the marks of respect due to his rank. She promised obedience, but, when the time came, she forgot her instructions, and opening wide her arms, exclaimed: "Oh honey James! How glad I is to see thee!" A welcome, probably dearer to the heart of Cook than any other could have been, and a proof of the affectionate regard the man was capable of inspiring.

In February Cook was back again in London, for Dr Charles Burney, in his "Memoirs," says that during that month

"I had the honour of receiving the illustrious Captain Cooke to dine with me in Queen's Square," (Bloomsbury) "previously to his second voyage round the world. Observing upon a table, Bougainville's 'Voyage Autour du Monde,' he turned it over, and made some curious remarks on the illiberal conduct of that circumnavigator towards himself when they met and crossed each other; which made me desirous to know, in examining the chart of M. de Bougainville the several tracks of the two navigators, and exactly where they had crossed or approached each other.

"Captain Cook instantly took a pencil from his pocket book and said he would trace the route; which he did in so clear and scientific a manner that I would not take fifty pounds for my book. The pencil marks, having been fixed by skim milk, will be always visible."

This volume is in the British Museum, and the pencil marks on the chart are as distinct as on the day on which they were made.

The structural alterations to the ship were completed at the beginning of February, and on the 6th she was hauled out of dry dock, and they commenced to rig her masts and take in her ballast and stores. With reference to her fitting out, Cook says:

"Every department seemed to vie with the other in equiping these two ships, every standing rule and order in the Navy was dispensed with, every alteration, every necessary and useful article, was granted as soon as asked for."

In another place Cook refers to the anxiety of the Navy Board to see that the quality and suitability of the stores were everything that could be desired, and the amount issued was increased from one year's to two and a half years' supply. In fact, Cook appears practically to have received *carte blanche*—an incident almost without parallel in the history of the Navy, and a distinct mark of the appreciation of the Lords of the Admiralty. In again speaking at this period about his two ships he says: "In my opinion they were as well adapted to the intended service as if they had been built for the purpose."

The *Resolution* was hauled out into the river on 19th February, and remained off Deptford, taking in stores and provisions till the 9th of April, when she dropped down to the sheerhulk at Woolwich, and was there detained by contrary winds till the 22nd, when they managed to get to Longreach, where they were joined by the *Adventure*, and the two sloops proceeded to take in their guns and gunners' stores. Twelve carriage guns and twelve swivel musketoons for the *Resolution*, and ten carriage guns and ten swivels for the *Adventure*. These were to have been taken on board

at Galleon's Reach as usual, but the *Resolution* was now drawing too much water—seventeen feet. Even at this time Cook was feeling very doubtful about her sailing qualities; he thought she was rather overweighted with her new upper works, and would prove crank, but

"as the Gentlemen's apartments were full of heavy baggage and the sloop a good deal lumbered aloft with heavy and some useless articles, which we might soon get rid of or get into the hold after we had consumed some of our provisions, I still entertained hopes that she would bear all her additional works, and suspended giving any other opinion until a full trial had been made of her, foreseeing what would be the consequence in case she did not answer in the manner she was now fitted."

The marines were embarked on the 29th, and on 2nd May Mr Banks gave an entertainment at which Lord Sandwich, the French Ambassador, and other distinguished personages, were present. Cook notes that Lord Sandwich had been on board several times before, and remarks that it is "a laudable tho' rare thing in a First Lord of the Admiralty."

On 7th May, an unfortunate event occurred. Mr Sandford, one of the midshipmen, was with the launch alongside the sheerhulk at Woolwich, and by some means fell into the water and was drowned. He was a smart young fellow, and much liked by his brother officers. Cook says:

"Some officious person, the next day, informed Sir George Saville that James Strong, one of the seamen, threw him overboard, in consequence of which he was taken into custody, but upon examination this charge could not be proved, and he thereupon was released; he, however, found means to escape from the officer who was sent to take him on board, and we saw him no more."

Cook now obtained a few days' leave in which to make his final arrangements, and the *Resolution* was ordered to proceed to the Downs under the first lieutenant, whilst the *Adventure* was ordered to Plymouth; both vessels sailing from Longreach on the 10th. The wind being contrary, the *Resolution* was compelled to work her passage down the river, and made such slow progress that she was four days getting down to the Nore, and on her arrival there Mr Cooper reported the very "crank" state of the ship to Cook, who at once wrote to the Admiralty that he considered it unsafe to proceed any further with her in that condition, and proposed that her poop should be cut down, her masts shortened, and her guns should be exchanged from six pounders to four pounders. The Navy Board, however, proposed to take off the whole of her new upper works and restore her as far as possible to her original state. It was ordered that she should proceed to Sheerness, that the Board's proposals should be carried out, and her Captain should join his ship to see that the alterations were well and expeditiously completed. Before leaving London he wrote to Mr Stephens, as he had heard some rumours that he was not satisfied with the ships that had been provided for the voyage, as follows:

"19*th May* 1771.

"SIR,—In consequence of Lieut. Cooper representing to me that the *Resolution* Sloop, under my command, was found upon tryal to be so crank that she would not bear her proper sail to be set upon her, I gave it as my opinion that it was owing to the additional works that have been built upon her in order to make large accommodation for the several gentlemen passengers intended to embark in her, and proposed that she might be cut down to her original, which proposal I laid before you in my letter of the 14th inst., and likewise attended the Navy Board, who were pleased to inform me of the alteration they proposed

to make, which alteration, I am of opinion, will render her as fit to perform the voyage as any ship whatever.

"I understand that it has been suggested that I never thought her or these kind of vessels proper for the service she is going upon. I beg you will acquaint their Lordships that I do now and ever did think her the most proper ship for this service I ever saw, and that from the knowledge and experience I have had of these sort of vessels, I shall always be of opinion that only such are proper to be sent on Discoveries to very distant parts.—I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"JAMES COOK."

On the 21st, Cook again wrote to Mr Stephens from the ship, saying that he was quite satisfied with the progress that was being made with the alterations, and that he would take every care to have her properly fitted for sea. He also mentioned that a man had been in the yard who knew the ship when she was in the merchant service and

"he with great confidence and some warmth asserted that at that time she was not only a stiff ship, but had as many other good qualities as any ship ever built in Whitby. This tends to refute some false suggestions that have been thrown out against her. I can only assure you that there does not remain the least doubt but what she will answer every wished for purpose."

He also stated that he had heard a rumour that the men were afraid to sail in her, and in reply calls attention to the fact that she is moored alongside the jetty at the time of writing, and the men were able to go on shore when they pleased, and yet he had not lost one single man.

Mr Banks strongly disapproved of the new alterations that were being carried out, and tried his utmost to persuade the Lords of the Admiralty to condemn the *Resolution* as unfit for the voyage, and to substitute for her an East Indiaman or a 40-gun ship, but Cook as

strongly objected to either type of vessel for the purpose of the present expedition, and said that many of the arguments advanced by Mr Banks's friends were very absurd, but still they succeeded in raising such an acrimonious discussion that it was fully expected the matter would be brought before Parliament. The Admiralty, however, stood by the Navy Board, and Cook writes, on being ordered to take charge of the ship, and to suggest anything that he thought would improve her, that it was

"a piece of service I went the more readily about, as having not the least doubt within myself but what I must succeed. Indeed I had it much at heart, as she was the ship of my choice, and as I then thought, and still think, the properest ship for the service she is intended for, of any I ever saw."

On his arrival at Sheerness he found the spardeck already removed, and great progress made with the other alterations ordered. He at once sanctioned an alteration to her waist suggested by the chief carpenter, and ordered two feet to be taken off the masts.

Mr Banks accompanied by Dr Solander went down to inspect on the 24th, and on his return to town he intimated to the Lords of the Admiralty that he should not go the voyage as "the ship was neither roomy nor convenient enough for his purpose, nor no ways proper for the voyage." Cook observes:

"These were the principal reasons Mr Banks assigned for giving up a voyage, the preparing for which had cost him about Five Thousand Pounds; he probably had others which he did not care to declare, at least, whoever saw the sloop and the appartments that were allotted to him and his people could not help but think so. Be this as it may, not only Mr Banks and his whole suite, but Dr Lynd gave up the voyage, and their baggage, etc., were got out of the sloop and sent

to London, after which no more complaints were heard for want of room, etc."

Charles Clerke, Second Lieutenant of the *Resolution*, who was on very friendly terms with Banks, wrote to him on 31st May saying: "Indeed I am sorry I'm not to have the honour of attending you the other bout."

And it is very evident from his letter that the want of accommodation was the main reason for Banks's withdrawal from the expedition, for he says:

"They are going to stow the major part of the cables in the hold to make room for the people now. I asked Gilbert; if such was the present case, 'what the devil should we have done if we had all gone?' 'Oh, by God, that was impossible,' was his answer."

That there was no serious breach between Cook and Banks at this time the following letter shows.

"SHEERNESS, *2nd June* 1772.

"SIR,—I received your letter by one of your people acquainting me that you had order'd everything belonging to you to be removed out of the ship, and desiring my assistance therein. I hope, Sir, you will find this done to your satisfaction, and with that care the present hurry and confused state of the ship required. Some few articles which were for the mess, I have kept, for which together with the money I have remaining in my hands, I shall account with you when I come to town. Taught by experience not to trust to the knowledge of servants, the whole of every necessary article wanting in such a voyage, I had, independant of what I purchased for the mess, lay'd in a stock of most articles, which will be now quite sufficient for me, and is the reason why I have not kept more of yours. The cook and two French horn men are at liberty to go whenever they please. Several of the casks your things are in, belong to the King, are charged to me, and for which I must be accountable. I shall be much obliged to you to send them to the victualling office when they are emptied, but desire that you will by no means put

yourself to any inconveniency on this head, as I shall not be call'd upon to account for them until my return. If it should not be convenient to send down for what may be still remaining in the ship of yours, they shall be sent you by, Sir, yours, etc., etc.,

"JAMES COOK."

"I pray my best respects to the Dr, and since I am not to have your company in the *Resolution*, I most sincerely wish you success in all your exploring undertakings."

The newspapers endeavoured to throw a political colour over the withdrawal of Mr Banks from any share in the voyage, and Bingley's Journal of 26th May says:

"The intended voyage of Mr Banks and Dr Solander to the South Seas, it is now said, is entirely laid aside, the Spanish Ambassador having represented to our Ministry that it would give umbrage to his Master."

Again, on 15th June, the same Journal says:

"The true reason that Messrs Banks and Solander do not go to the South Seas is, the Court of Spain have strongly remonstrated against our navigating in those Seas, and our Court have meanly and cowardly given up the original design. And to cover their baseness in this matter the ship intended for Messrs Banks, etc., was fitted out in so bad a manner the gentlemen could not go in her. This pitiful trick was contrived to throw the blame upon them, which really belongs to the Ministry. (Our correspondent's further observations on this fact are under consideration.)"

Evidently a discreet dread of the law of libel prevented their publication, as nothing further appeared on the subject.

The preface to an account of the voyage, published by Newberry in 1775, from the Journal of James Marra, gunner's mate on the *Resolution*, who shipped as A.B. on the *Endeavour* at Batavia, and about whom a dispute

arose with the Dutch, states that the great success of the voyage was doubtless due to their having shaken off "the train of gentlemen," who "with their attendants occupied the chief accommodations of the ship," and whose presence would have rendered it "out of the power of the most determined officer to have carried such a princely retinue through the icy regions which they were to pass, without murmurs, or perhaps mutiny." The writer also suggests that there was truth in the report that, had Banks gone, it was the intention to spend a considerable time in investigating Australia, which was to be made the place of refreshment instead of New Zealand. The great interest afterwards shown by Banks in the settlement of New South Wales, lends colour to this suggestion. On 13th July Mr Banks and his party sailed for Iceland *vid* Ireland, and Scotland.

As soon as it was known that Mr Banks had withdrawn from the expedition, Mr John Reinhold Forster, a German naturalist of some reputation, applied for the appointment of naturalist for the voyage, and having secured the interest of Lord Sandwich, obtained the position. He was to receive the £4,000, which had been granted by Parliament to secure the services of Dr Lynd, and out of it he was to supply all the scientific instruments he required, and pay all expenses beyond the usual ship allowances of food. His son, John George Adam Forster, a youth of eighteen, who afterwards attained some note by his writings and translations, accompanied him as his assistant. The Board of Longitude appointed Messrs Wales and Bayley as the astronomers, and instructed them to take and compare observations on every possible occasion, and to take charge of the timepieces that were on board the ships for the purpose of being tested as to their accuracy and capabilities in assisting in ascertaining the longitude. Two of these instruments made

by Arnold were placed in Mr Bayley's charge on board the *Adventure*, and two, one made by Arnold, and the other by Kendal on Harrison's principle, under the care of Mr Wales on the *Resolution*. Great precautions were taken to prevent any accident or tampering with these instruments, and they were kept in boxes, each having three keys, one in charge of the astronomer, one with the captain, and one with the first lieutenant, so that they could not even be wound up except in the presence of all three.

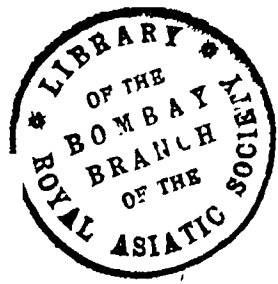
Mr William Hodges, a painter of repute, was specially appointed by the Admiralty to take views of the principal places of interest visited by the ships; and his pictures were to be the property of the Admiralty.

The celebrated Dr Joseph Priestley, at that time minister at Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, had been invited by Banks to accompany the expedition as astronomer, and had signified his willingness to do so, his congregation having guaranteed him his position on his return; but so strong an objection was taken to his religious opinions that Banks did not feel he could successfully press the appointment, and his application was withdrawn. Dr Priestley writes in his "Memoirs":

"Whilst I was at Leeds, a proposal was made to me, to accompany Captain Cook, in his second voyage to the South Seas. As the terms were very advantageous, I consented to it, and the heads of my congregation had agreed to keep an assistant to supply my place during my absence. But Mr Banks informed me that I was objected to by some clergymen in the Board of Longitude, who had the direction of this business, on account of my religious principles: and, presently after, I heard that Dr Forster, a person far better qualified for the purpose, had got the appointment. As I had barely acquiesced in the proposal, this was no disappointment to me, and I was much better employed at home, even with respect to my philosophical pursuits. My knowledge of Natural History was not sufficient for the

undertaking, but at this time I should, by application, have been able to supply my deficiency, though now I am sensible I could not do it."

From this extract it would appear that he expected to have had charge of the general scientific observations, but he was invited by Banks to join the expedition on account of his astronomical knowledge.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CHAPTER XIII

1772-1774—SECOND VOYAGE

On 21st June Cook said farewell to his family, and, in company with Mr Wales, left London for Sheerness, from which place the *Resolution* sailed for the Nore on the following day. She was now drawing only fifteen feet ten inches of water instead of seventeen as before her alteration, which was looked upon as a very satisfactory improvement. She was given a good trial on a wind, and she was found "to answer exceeding well." After a short detention at the Nore, caused by adverse wind, she reached the Downs on the 26th, anchored there for the night, and then proceeded to Plymouth, where she arrived on 3rd July. The day previously they were boarded by Lord Sandwich and Captain Palliser, who were on a tour of inspection, and Cook was thus able to give them personally a most satisfactory account of his ship—"I had not one fault to alledge."

On their arrival at Plymouth Cook found that orders had been given, that he was to be supplied with whatever he thought necessary from the stores; but it appears that the only thing he required was the replacing the coppers of the distilling apparatus, as those he had, on being tried as they were coming down the Channel, had proved too small. On 10th July the officers and men of both ships were paid their wages up to 28th May, and the petty officers and crew were also paid two months advance, in order that they might be able to provide necessaries and extras for the voyage.

Cook says:

"The payment of six months' wages to the officers and crews of these two sloops, being nearly all they had due, was an indulgence never before granted to any of His Majesty's Ships."

The final orders were delivered to Cook, the heads of which he had seen in London, and he writes: "Indeed I was consulted at the time they were drawn up, and nothing was inserted that I did not fully comprehend and approve of." They were to the effect that he was first to make for Madeira for a supply of wine; thence to sail to the Cape of Good Hope and refresh his crew; then to sail to the southward to endeavour to find Cape Circumcision, which M. Bouvet had placed in latitude 54° S., longitude 11° 20′ E. He was to determine if it formed part of a continent, and if so to explore it, following the coast, and to endeavour to get as near to the South Pole as he could without seriously endangering his ships or crews. If Cape Circumcision proved to be on an island, or if he was unable to find it, he was to proceed as far south as he thought there was any probability of meeting with land, and then, steering to the eastward, to circumnavigate the world in as high a latitude as he could. In the case of meeting with land all his discoveries were to be explored as far as time would permit. Whenever the season of the year rendered it unsafe to remain in a high latitude, he was to retire to some known place to the north to refit and recruit, and then to return to the south. In the case of anything unforeseen happening, he was to use his own discretion, and if the *Resolution* should be lost, he was to prosecute his voyage in search of the new continent in the *Adventure*. A copy of these orders was given to Captain Furneaux, and, in case of separation from any cause, the following places were named as rendezvous: Madeira, Port Praya in

the island of St Iago, the Cape of Good Hope, and New Zealand.

Previously to leaving Plymouth, Messrs Wales and Bayley made very careful observations on Drake's Island, in order to obtain the correct latitude and longitude, so that the timepieces might be started and rated. Two of the "watch machines," made by Arnold, were lent to the expedition by the Royal Society, and are still preserved.

The Forsters do not appear to have been very pleasant travelling companions, and at one time or another seem to have quarrelled with every one on board the ship. At the very first, the father expressed great dissatisfaction with the accommodation set apart for him, and offered Mr Cooper the sum of £100 for his cabin, and when this offer was declined, he tried to force the Master, Mr Gilbert, to give up his, accompanying his request with a threat that if he refused, he should be reported to the king and turned out of the Navy: in fact, this threat was a favourite one, and very soon became a by-word amongst the sailors, who, according to Mr Wales, would use it to each other on every possible occasion. However, Mr Forster, according to his own account, saved the *Resolution* on 12th July from serious disaster, if not total destruction. He says that he came on deck and noticed that the ship was adrift from her moorings, and neither the officer of the watch nor the man on the look-out had seen it till he called attention to it, and then, after a scene of great confusion, the ship was most fortunately brought up just in time, within a few feet of the rocks. According to the Master's log, it appears that the ship did get adrift, but before Mr Forster made his appearance on deck the fact had been reported to the captain, who was in his cabin, by Mr Gilbert, who had turned up all hands, set the jib and forestay sail, and the ship dropped quietly down into the sound and anchored, never having been

for a single moment in the slightest danger. The only other person who makes any note of the affair is Midshipman Willis, who simply remarks "dropped from the Buoy and anchored in the Sound."

Having been furnished with the private signals of the East India Company's Navy, and with letters of introduction from the Prince of Orange to all the officers of the Dutch East India Company, who were thereby instructed to afford the expedition, as far as it lay in their power, every assistance that might be required, Cook, at 5 A.M. on 13th July, hoisted the signal to the *Adventure* to weigh anchor, and the two sloops sailed for Madeira with a north-west breeze. When fairly out into the Channel the crew of the *Resolution* was mustered, and it was found that, owing to a mistake on the part of the clerk, there was one man more than the complement, so John Coglan was entered on the "Supernumerary List for Wages and Victuals."

On the 23rd they were able to relieve the necessities of a small French boat which had met with very bad weather between Ferrol and Corunna, and had been blown far out of her course. She had been very short of water for a fortnight, and her crew were grateful for a supply from the *Resolution*. The next day they fell in with three Spanish men-of-war, one of which fired a gun to bring the *Adventure* to. The Commander enquired who they were, where they were going, and on receiving the reply, said: "I wish you a good voyage." Cook says: "The sternmost hoisted English colours and fired a gun to leeward, and soon after hoisted his own proper colours, and spoke with the *Adventure*." Mr Forster takes advantage of the opportunity and waxes eloquent, describing the event as "a scene so humiliating to the masters of the sea." Marra's Journal says that when the Spaniards were informed that they had stopped a king's ship, which they would not know

from the build and rig of the vessels, they "made a proper apology, and very politely took leave, wishing them a good voyage." As Cook was not the sort of man to put up with humiliation without some sort of objection, it would seem that Forster's indignation was somewhat out of place.

On 29th July they arrived at Madeira, and being at once granted pratique, they landed and were most kindly received by Mr Loughnan, a merchant of Funchal, who procured for them the few stores they required, obtained permission for the Forsters to examine the island, and entertained some of the party at his own residence during the whole of the stay of the ships. Knowing the value of onions as an antiscorbutic, Cook purchased as many as he thought would keep good, and ordered them to be served out regularly to the crews as long as the supply lasted.

On 1st August anchor was weighed, and they sailed for Port Praya, St Iago, for a supply of water, passing the Canaries on the 4th. At Port Praya they were able to purchase a supply of pigs, goats, and fowls, and a good assortment of fruits—chiefly oranges and bananas. Sailing again on the 14th, they had the first loss on the *Resolution* on the 19th. One of the carpenter's mates named Henry Smook, who was at work on one of the scuttles, fell overboard, and unfortunately was not seen till he was right under the stern, and, though every effort to save him was made, it was unavailing. Cook says he was a good and steady workman, and that his loss was often felt throughout the voyage.

On 27th August Cook learnt that Midshipman Lambrecht, of the *Adventure*, had died of fever, and on 8th September, Midshipman Kemp of the same ship also died of the same complaint. Captain Furneaux attributed both deaths to their having bathed and drunk too much water at Port Praya in the heat of the day.

At this time the *Resolution* had a clean bill of health, but for fear that the heavy rains, to which they were continually being subjected, might cause sickness, the ship was constantly fumigated, washed down, and thoroughly dried by means of stoves as advised by Captains Palliser and Campbell, with good results. On nearing the Cape, soundings were taken in the endeavour to locate a bank that had been reported; but the attempt was unsuccessful. On 30th October they arrived in Table Bay after a very satisfactory voyage. Cook had been told before leaving England that at that season of the year he would probably have to encounter a great deal of calm weather; but he appears to have been very fortunate in that respect. The currents were found to be very strong, but he came to the conclusion that those encountered to the north of the Equator were balanced by those to the south, for he found that the difference between the longitude ascertained by dead reckoning was only three-quarters of a degree less than that obtained by observation.

On landing at the Cape they were well received by the Dutch Governor, Baron Plattenberg, who told Cook that he had received instructions from Holland that the two sloops were to have every assistance they required that the place could afford them. He also informed him that two French ships commanded by M. de Kerguelen, had discovered land in 48° S., near the meridian of Mauritius, but after sailing along the coast for a distance of some forty miles, he had been blown off in a heavy gale in which he lost both boats and men. Two other French ships had called in, also, in March, on their way to explore the South Pacific under the command of M. Marion.

Messrs Wales and Bayley got their instruments ashore in order to make observations for the purpose of correcting the "watch machines." That made by

Kendal was found to be working very well, and gave the longitude within one minute of time when compared with that fixed by Messrs Mason and Dixon in 1761.

The First Lieutenant of the *Adventure*, Mr Shank, who had been ill almost from the day on which they left England, feeling that he was not in a fit state to cope with the hardships that would have to be met with in a voyage to the Antarctic Ocean, applied for leave to return home, which was at once granted; and Mr Arthur Kempe was appointed to succeed him, his place as second lieutenant being taken by Mr James Burney. Mr Sparrman, who was a pupil of Linnæus, and was engaged by Mr Forster to assist him, makes his appearance on the muster rolls as "servant."

The crews were well looked after, as much time as possible was allowed to all on shore, and fresh meat and vegetables, with fresh baked bread, was served out every day in ample quantity, so that when the ships sailed for the south, they were all "in as good a condition as when they left England." Mr Hodges employed himself in making sketches of the neighbourhood, which were duly forwarded to the Admiralty. Cook himself found time to write as follows to Mr Walker of Whitby.

"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
"28*th Novr.* 1772.

"DEAR SIR,—Having nothing new to communicate, I should hardly have troubled you with a letter were it not customary for men to take leave of their friends before they go out of the world; for I can hardly think myself in it, so long as I am deprived of having any connexion with the civilised part of it, and this will soon be my case for two years at least. When I think of the inhospitable parts I am going to, I think the voyage dangerous; I, however, enter upon it with great cheerfulness. Providence has been very kind to me on many occasions, and I trust in the continuance of Divine Protection.

"I have two good ships, well provided and well mann'd. You must have heard of the clamour raised against the *Resolution* before I left England: I can assure you I never set foot in a finer ship. Please to make my best respects to all friends in Whitby, and believe me to be, with great regard and esteem, your most affectionate friend,

"JAMES COOK.

In Marra's Journal it is stated that before leaving, the Governor of the Cape dined on board the *Resolution* with Cook—an unusual act of courtesy for a man occupying his position; but he seems to have formed a very high opinion of him, which appears afterwards to have become an affectionate friendship.

On 22nd November they set sail for the south, and soon finding the weather getting rapidly colder the fearnought jackets and trousers that were provided by the Admiralty were served out, and warmly lined capes of canvas were made and extra cuffs sewn on the jackets for the protection of the hands. On the 29th they fell in with a heavy gale, which lasted till 6th December; and for a part of the time it was so bad that the ships were unable to carry any sail. During this heavy weather a scuttle, which had been insecurely fastened, was burst open by the heavy seas and a considerable quantity of water was taken on board, necessitating some little hard work at the pumps, but beyond making things very unpleasant for a time no great harm was suffered; but it gave Mr Foster an opportunity of writing an account of the terrible danger they were in, and, wonderful to relate, of speaking highly of the heroism displayed by the crew. A large quantity of the live stock purchased at the Cape perished from the effects of the wet and cold, and the ships were blown so much to the eastward of the intended course that Cook, for the time, gave up the idea of searching for Cape Circumcision. The first ice was encountered in

latitude 50° 40′ S. on the 10th, and on proceeding still southward they were stopped by a large field, to which they "could see no end, either to the east, west, or south," so working along to the south-east they searched for some days for an opening, but unsuccessfully. Seeing no prospect of any change, and being in constant danger from the detached pieces, Cook reluctantly gave the order to steer to the north. On the 14th the weather had moderated sufficiently to permit Wales and Forster to go off in a boat to obtain temperatures of the sea, but a heavy fog suddenly came up and they lost the ships, but were eventually picked up by the *Adventure*, and were soon afterwards safely returned to their own. About the middle of December signs of scurvy began to show themselves, and extra precautions were at once taken; fresh wort was served out regularly to all hands. One man, who was in a much worse state than any of the others, was treated with the "Rob of Lemons and Oranges" (a sort of jelly made from these fruits), but without effect, though he received considerable benefit from the wort. Captain Furneaux reported that at this time he had two very bad cases completely cured by the rob of lemons.

When they had left the ice field well behind them Cook again turned southwards, and on 26th December had worked down as far as 50° 31′ S., longitude 26° 57′ E., where, though surrounded by large pieces broken off the field of ice, he steered to the west, leaving the main body of the ice to the north. The ships gradually worked down to about 60° S. in the longitude given for Cape Circumcision, and being then some ninety-five leagues further south than the position given by Bouvet, with no signs of land, Cook concluded that he must have been deceived by the ice. Obtaining a sight of the moon for the second time since leaving the Cape, Mr Wales was able to take several observations, and fix the position of the ship

with tolerable accuracy. Penguins, seals, and several kinds of petrels were seen amongst the ice.

The course was now altered to the E.S.E., and very foggy weather was encountered, accompanied by great cold, which coated the rigging with ice, rendering it very pretty to the eye but very difficult and unpleasant to work. Cook says that though this suggested very intense cold to the mind, in reality the thermometer stood rather higher, and the sea was not so much encumbered with ice as it had been. Blocks of ice were taken on board, and it was found that when the sea water had drained off they provided perfectly fresh water on melting, so a sufficient quantity was obtained to give thirteen tons of water to the *Resolution*, and some twelve tons to the *Adventure*. This eased Cook's mind of a great anxiety, and he determined to venture further to the south, and on 17th January 1773 they crossed the Antarctic Circle in longitude 39° 35′ E., and at noon their latitude, by observation, was 66° 36′ 30″ S., the sea being almost free from ice. In the evening, however, they found themselves completely blocked by an enormous field extending from the south-east round to the west as far as the eye could reach, and as the summer was nearly over Cook decided that it was unwise to attempt anything further to the south, and ordered a retreat to the north. He made for the land said to have been recently discovered by the French, and spent some days looking for it in the neighbourhood that had been given to him; but with the exception of a few birds that were supposed not to go far away from land, and some floating weed, nothing was seen, so he gave up the search.

On 8th February a brisk gale sprang up accompanied by very hazy weather, thickening into fog, and the two vessels separated. Cook cruised about, repeatedly firing guns and lighting flares without obtaining any response, and when the weather cleared up on the following day

the *Adventure* was not to be seen. Poor Mr Forster was dreadfully scared when he realised that the two ships had really parted company; he says that none of the crew "ever looked around the ocean without expressing concern on seeing our ship alone on this vast and unexplored expanse." He seems to have been thoroughly unhappy, for he describes the whole voyage, from the Cape to New Zealand, as a series of hardships such as had never before been experienced by mortal man.

Being a little to the south of Tasman's track, Cook conjectured that Furneaux would make for the rendezvous he had been given at New Zealand by that route, and therefore felt himself free to push on to the south-east, as he judged that, if any large body of land was in the immediate vicinity, it must lie in that quarter, for the swell coming up from the south-west precluded the possibility of any mass of land being in that direction.

On 17th February the officer of the watch reported a very beautiful display of the Aurora Australis, which Cook speaks of as something quite new to him, although Banks noted an appearance of the same kind on the previous voyage, when the *Endeavour* was between Timor and Batavia; it cannot have been very distinct, or it would have made more impression on Cook's memory. The present one is described as having a sort of spiral motion, though the direction of movement was not distinctly defined, and it was at times accompanied by a very strong flash or series of flashes of light. A second somewhat similar display was seen on the 20th. On this last day the ship was again "watered" with blocks of ice, and some of the boats had a very narrow escape from destruction as one of the small icebergs, at which they were working, turned completely over.

As the weather had proved very unsettled for some days, Cook turned northwards again with a hard gale,

and a high sea from the E.S.E. on 24th February, and for some days no observations were possible on account of the overcast sky. On 8th March, however, they were unusually fortunate, as it was the finest day they had had since leaving the Cape, and they were able to fix their position as 59° 44′ S., 121° 9′ E; the thermometer standing at 40°. This pleasant break was of course followed by another heavy gale with a tremendously heavy sea, and Cook ran before it towards New Zealand in expectation of joining the *Adventure*. His first intention was to touch at Van Diemen's Land on his way, so as to satisfy himself about its being joined to New Holland, but the wind kept obstinately between north and west, having shifted after the gale, and he thought it would occupy a longer time than he could spare, so he bore up for the South Island, trusting that Furneaux would have had the opportunity to solve that question. It was soon found that a few degrees of latitude made a great difference in the temperature, "which we felt with an agreeable satisfaction."

At 10 A.M., on 25th March, New Zealand was sighted from the masthead, and Cook steered in for the land with the intention of putting into the first port that appeared suitable; but the weather coming on very hazy, he thought it safer to stand out to sea again. He found that he had picked up the island at a point which he had only seen from a distance on his previous voyage, and "now saw it under so many disadvantageous circumstances, that the less I say about it, the fewer mistakes I shall make." The following day, however, they got safely into Dusky Bay, finding forty-four fathoms at the entrance, with a sandy bottom. They sailed up about a couple of leagues, and then sent off a boat to look for an anchorage, which was soon found, and they brought up in fifty fathoms, about a hawser's length from the shore. They had been a hundred and seventeen days at sea, and had sailed 3,660

leagues without having once sighted land, and they arrived with only one man sick with scurvy,

"occasioned, chiefly, by a bad habit of body and a complication of other disorders. My first care, after the ship was moored, was to send a boat and people fishing; in the meantime, some of the gentlemen killed a seal (out of many that were upon a rock) which made us a fresh meal."

The anchorage was not very convenient, so Cook went off in a boat in one direction, sending Mr Pickersgill in another to seek for a better one. It was easily found, and named after its discoverer, Pickersgill Harbour. Here they set up the observatory, forge, and sail-makers' tents, caught plenty of fish, and brewed the spruce beer to which was added molasses, and some of the inspissated malt juice, and thus made themselves comfortable for a short stay. A shooting party, seeing a considerable number of natives, thought it advisable to return to the ship and report their presence, and were followed up to within a short distance of the vessel by a canoe containing seven or eight men, who remained watching the proceedings at the camp for some time. After they had gone back Cook went to look for their camp, which he found empty, so he left some presents that he thought would be acceptable, and went on to explore the inlet: on his return he found the presents still untouched, and on again visiting the place three or four days afterwards they were still there, and the camp appeared to be deserted.

A plentiful supply of wild fowl was obtained, furnishing with the seals and fish a very welcome addition to the larder. The seals were particularly useful, for the skins were employed for the ship's rigging, the fat for the lamps, and the flesh, some of which Cook says was quite equal to good beefsteak, for the table. On one of his surveying excursions, Cook was passing an island when a Maori called out to him, and on his landing

came to meet him accompanied by two women. After an attempt at conversation, which was not very satisfactory, he gave Cook a piece of native cloth and, as far as could be understood, asked for a boat-cloak in return. One was made for him out of red baize, and gave so much satisfaction that he presented Cook with his "pattou," a sort of short flat club made of stone. He visited the ship and took great interest in what was going on; being particularly struck by the sawyers at work, he, after watching some time, expressed a desire to try his hand in the pit. He was at once allowed to do so, but, soon finding it was not so easy as it looked, did not require much persuasion to relinquish his self-imposed task.

Cook reports very favourably on the capabilities of Dusky Bay as a place of refreshment for ships, saying there is a good anchorage, no difficulty in entering, plenty of good water, wood, game, and fish, but very little edible herbage. They selected a convenient spot for a garden, and planted some European seeds; and also left a pair of geese where they were unlikely to be disturbed. The inhabitants were few and apparently of a wandering habit, and the timber was the best he had seen in New Zealand, with the exception of that at the Thames. They left the anchorage on 29th April, and attempted to get to sea by a passage between Resolution Island and the mainland; but owing to adverse winds were not successful till 11th May. During a portion of their stay Cook had been confined to his cabin by what he called a slight cold, but Forster said, a severe attack of rheumatism.

They proceeded up the west coast, and on 17th May, near Cape Stephens, fell in with six water spouts, one of which came within fifty yards of the ship. Cook afterwards regretted that he had not tried the experiment of firing a gun at it, as he had heard that course was recommended. He said he had a gun ready, but did

not think of it in time as he was too busy noting the phenomena. Forster says that one "was ordered to be got ready but our people being, as usual, very dilatory about it, the danger was passed before we could try the experiment."

On 18th May they arrived in Queen Charlotte's Sound, and as Cook expected, found the *Adventure* there before them. She had been there six weeks, and, immediately on the arrival of the *Resolution*, Captain Furneaux went on board and reported himself and his proceedings since parting on 8th February. He said that in the thick fog they heard a gun which was believed to be on the port beam, and bore up for it, firing guns every half-hour, but heard no reply. After cruising about for three days as near the spot as the weather would permit, he, according to orders, made for New Zealand, following, as Cook had expected, the line taken by Tasman. He sighted Van Diemen's Land on 9th March near what he believed to be the South Cape of Tasman. He sent a boat ashore at the first opportunity, and some traces of natives were seen, but, the weather proving very threatening, the boat was compelled to return to the ship. On the 11th they anchored in Adventure Bay and stayed there five days, taking in wood and water; the latter article they were much in want of, for the allowance had been cut down to one quart per day for some time past. Some deserted huts were found, of a very primitive kind, and the smoke of fires was observed, but no natives were seen. They then followed up the coast to where it trended away sharply to the west, forming, he believed, a deep bay. They continued on past the islands which now bear Furneaux's name, and then bad weather came on and he judged it best to make for his rendezvous, quite convinced that Van Diemen's Land joined New Holland. On 30th March they sighted New Zealand, and running up the coast were greatly retarded by a

heavy swell from the north. When they arrived in Queen Charlotte's Sound, they found the pole erected by Cook on the island Motuara, with the name of the *Endeavour* and the date of her visit on it; and some of the inhabitants who remembered the ship came forward to trade and enquired after Cook and Tupia. On 11th May they experienced the shock of an earthquake, but no damage was done.

The first thing that Cook did after his arrival was to send out the boats for a supply of scurvy grass, as several of the *Adventure's* crew were very sick, and when it had been obtained, he

"gave orders that it should be boiled with wheat and portable broth every morning for breakfast, and with pease and broth for dinner, knowing from experience that these vegetables, thus dressed, are extremely beneficial in removing all manner of scorbutic complaints."

Although Furneaux had prepared to winter in Queen Charlotte's Sound, Cook thought it too early in the season to rest, and decided to push on further before settling down for the winter. He was half inclined to go over to Van Diemen's Land and settle the question of whether or no it was a part of New Holland, but as Furneaux appeared convinced, and as the winds were contrary, he determined to continue his voyage to the eastward, and the *Adventure* was ordered to refit as rapidly as possible. Gardens had been started by Furneaux on his arrival, and Cook tried to interest the natives in them. He showed them the potatoes, carrots, and parsnips, which they seemed to understand and appreciate, and they promised to look after the gardens.

A boat, which had been sent to get some timber for spars on 3rd June, was chased by a large canoe filled with men, but Cook thought that no great harm was intended; and on another day some natives were on board

when a large canoe came up, which those on board declared to belong to enemies, and requested Cook to fire at it, but he declined to do so, and instead invited the occupants to come on board, which they did after performing some usual ceremonial, and behaved themselves quite properly; but in a short time he was obliged to get rid of the whole of them, as he found his crews were selling their clothing for things that were of no value either as curiosities or for use. They went off towards Motuara Island, and Cook seeing more people over there followed them up. He had some little conversation with a few of them, but did not remember having seen any of them on his previous visit, and thought none of them recognised him. They had their cooking utensils with them, and he came to the conclusion that they intended to settle down there, at any rate for a time. Cook says that a rumour got abroad amongst his men that the Maoris were willing to sell their children; but he explains that the idea sprang from the *Adventure*, where it was not understood that the presentation of the children was not for the purpose of sale, but merely to obtain a present for them, and was the usual custom. He also remarks that the intercourse between the Maoris and the whites did not tend to improve the morals of the former, whom he had hitherto looked upon as superior in that respect to the other South Sea Islanders he had come across.

A pair of goats from the *Resolution*, and a sow and boar from the *Adventure*, were left in secluded spots in hopes that before their presence became known to the natives they might have increased in number. A ewe and a ram, the last left alive of those purchased at the Cape, were also landed, but were found dead the next day, having, it was believed, eaten something poisonous.

As soon as the two ships were ready for sea, Cook gave Furneaux, in writing, the course he intended to steer, and orders as to the latter's proceedings in case of

separation. His intention was to run east between the 41st and 46th parallels of latitude, until he reached the 135° to 148° W. longitude, and then, providing no land had been discovered, to proceed to Otaheite. Thence, back to Queen Charlotte's Sound for wood and water, and afterwards thoroughly to explore the Southern Ocean between the meridians of New Zealand and Cape Horn. Should the ships be separated he appointed as rendezvous, Otaheite up to 20th August, and Queen Charlotte's Sound up to 20th November; and if by that date Cook had not joined him, he was to carry out the orders of the Admiralty to the best of his ability.

On 7th June they put to sea, and on the 8th some accident happened to Arnold's timepiece on board the *Resolution*, and they were unable to wind it up. So far it had been working well, but had not kept such accurate time as Kendal's. On the return of the ship to England, Arnold was informed that either by carelessness, neglect, or wilfully, Mr Wales had himself caused this stoppage. Wales attributed this report to the Forsters, to whom he wrote on the subject, and it is very evident from their replies that, though they would not acknowledge having circulated the rumour, they were not ignorant that Arnold had been so informed. There does not appear to be the slightest ground for such a rumour, but it does appear very probable that it originated with the Forsters. Cook took every possible precaution with the "watch machines," and on every occasion that offered, Mr Wales was sent on board the *Adventure* to enquire and compare, and as far as can now be ascertained there is no reason whatever to think that there was the slightest want of care on the part of any one.

Throughout the remainder of June they experienced rough weather, and it was not till 18th July that they reached longitude 133° W., having seen no signs of land

on their way. Cook therefore turned to the north so as to cross the space between his track to the north and his return south in 1769. This course would practically settle one view of the supposed Southern Continent, for it had been laid down by some theorists as being in the middle latitudes of the South Pacific. New Zealand being said to be the western side (this had been already disposed of by Cook in his previous voyage) and what Forster calls the "pretended discoveries near America," the eastern one. This course now proposed would take the ships through the centre of the part of the ocean that was in dispute.

On 29th July, hearing that the *Adventure* was very sickly, Cook sent a boat to enquire, and found about twenty of the crew were down with scurvy, and that the cook had died of the disease. One of the *Resolution's* crew, W. Chapman, received his warrant as cook, and orders were given that the utmost precautions were to be taken, and wort, carrot marmalade, and rob of lemon, were to be freely served out. On board Cook's own ship at this time, three men were on the sick list, only one of whom had the scurvy; but as some of the others were showing suspicious symptoms, the usual precautions were taken, with good results.

On 1st August Cook believed himself to be in the immediate neighbourhood of Pitcairn Island, discovered by Carteret; but he was so anxious about the health of the *Adventure*, that he determined to run no further risk by the delay of looking for it. It appears he was about fifteen leagues to the westward. He was, shortly after this, able to have Furneaux on board to dinner, and was greatly pleased to find the health of his consort was much improved. Furneaux had a quantity of cider on board, which he served out to his men with very satisfactory results. Two islands were sighted on the 11th, which were named Resolution and Doubtful Islands, but Cook believed them to have been previously

discovered by De Bougainville, and no stay was made on account of the anxiety for the fruit and vegetables of Otaheite. The following morning at daylight they found themselves almost on the top of what Cook calls "a half drowned island, or rather a large coral shoal of about 20 leagues in circuit." It had a lagoon in the centre, on which they saw a large canoe under sail. The island was named after Captain Furneaux.

As they were in such a dangerous neighbourhood, Cook ordered that at night the cutter with an officer and seven men should keep as far in advance of the ships as they could, and at the same time within signalling distance. This was done till the 15th, when being in sight of Maitea (Osnaburg Island), and therefore in waters he knew, the services of the cutter were no longer necessary. He now determined to put in to the south-east side of Otaheite, so as to get fresh provisions at the earliest possible opportunity; and at daybreak on the 16th, they found themselves about two miles from the reef. The wind dropped, and the set of the current was taking them on to the reef, so the boats were ordered out to tow, but, coming near an opening through which the tide was rushing with great force, they were unable to keep the ships off. The *Adventure* let go her anchors, and fortunately found holding ground, but the *Resolution* was not so successful, and was carried on to the reef, and struck two or three times, fortunately without doing any very serious damage. A land breeze sprang up in the nick of time, and the tide slackening, enabled them to get in with safety with the loss of three anchors, a cable, and a couple of hawsers; the bower anchor was recovered by Mr Gilbert the next day. Cook says that though he thought they had a remarkably narrow escape, the natives who saw them did not seem to appreciate that they had been in any danger.

They remained at this anchorage for a week, and obtained a good supply of cocoanuts and bananas, but

were unable to purchase any hogs as the people declared they all belonged to the chief; so, hearing that gentleman was in the neighbourhood, Cook landed to call on him, and found him a mile or so away from the landing-place. He at once recognised him as Tearee, whom he had seen in 1769, and the chief enquired after several of the *Endeavour* people. He tried to persuade Cook to make a longer stay, promising that he should have some hogs, but as this promise was one often made to be broken, Cook replied that he should leave the next day. They managed to obtain three hogs, and were thus able to give the crews a meal of fresh meat. Whilst here, it was found that one of the natives had picked up cocoanuts from which the sailors had extracted the milk, and fastening them up very carefully, had resold them; and when the swindle was exposed he did not appear the least disconcerted at the discovery of his trick. One of the marines who had been ailing more or less ever since leaving England, developed dropsy at the last and died, and the one man who was suffering from scurvy, still remained on the sick list of the *Resolution*; but the *Adventure's* crew had greatly improved in health with the change to a fresh vegetable diet. When the ships sailed, Mr Pickersgill was left behind to see if he could manage to obtain any of the promised hogs, but was not very successful, only obtaining some three or four. He saw old Oborea, who was known to Wallis as the Queen of the Island, but she had now fallen from her high estate, and appeared to be in poor circumstances. She said that the king was too frightened to let them have any hogs; but what it was that frightened him Pickersgill could not ascertain.

Before the ships got to their anchorage at Matavai, their decks were crowded with natives, many of whom Cook recognised, and almost all of them knew him. Otoo, the king, who, according to Forster, never saw

the English on their first visit, remembered Cook, and enquired after Banks, Solander, and others who were with the *Endeavour*. The old fort on Point Venus was re-occupied, the tents pitched for the sick, the observatory set up, and the camp placed under the charge of Lieutenant Edgecombe of the Marines.

The king, though he appeared nervous and uncomfortable, gave a theatrical performance in honour of his visitors, at which his sister was the only female performer. It had some reference to the coming of the ships, for the names of some of the officers were recognised, but they were not able to follow the thread of the story. Cook did not feel at all satisfied with his reception, for supplies came in but slowly, and fresh meat was very difficult to obtain, so he determined to cut his visit short. They were quite unable to guess the reason of this cool reception; but Forster attributes it to the advice of a sailor, who had deserted from a Spanish ship which had called at the island about March 1773. Cook's Journal refers to the supposed presence of a white man on the island, who, when he saw that he had been observed, disappeared at once, and was not again seen. The Spanish vessel was from Callao and was commanded by Don Juan de Langara y Huarto, but the particulars of her voyage have not been made public. The natives gave Forster to understand that four of her sailors had been hanged on the island.

A little unpleasantness arose between some of the *Adventure's* crew and the natives, but, fortunately, it was not of any great importance, and the islanders were well satisfied to find that Cook did not hesitate to punish his own men, who were the originators of the disturbance. Forster, the younger, made an attempt to explore the interior, but he found the climbing more difficult than he expected, and returned, after marching a few miles, with very little fresh information. Cook, of course,

enquired into the state of the gardens they had planted at his previous visit, and he found that the only plants that had done well were the pumpkins, and these the natives did not seem to appreciate, "which is not to be wondered at," says Cook. As it was believed that human sacrifice was sometimes offered at the "Moris," careful enquiries were made, and the conclusion arrived at was that under certain conditions, special criminals, selected by the high priest, were beaten to death there, but that these occasions were very rare. He also, on further enquiry, formed the opinion that the standard of morality amongst the women was much higher than had previously been admitted.

Before sailing Cook called on the king, and as it was to be his last visit, presented him with three wethers purchased at the Cape, and Furneaux presented a couple of goats for breeding purposes; and in return three hogs were given, one for Cook, one for Furneaux, and one for Forster. One of the chiefs then came forward and spoke for some time in a very energetic and excited manner, and Cook thought he was complaining that the king was giving too much as the smallest hog was taken away. The meaning of the speech must, however, have been exactly the reverse, as it was soon afterwards replaced by a much larger one.

On 1st September they sailed with a favourable wind to Huaheine, and, in going through the passage in the reef surrounding the island, the *Adventure* ran ashore; but, with the assistance of the *Resolution's* boats, she was towed off without serious damage. Forster says that Cook did not send any help till after the *Resolution* was safely anchored, and suggests that this delay added to the danger of his consort. Cook, however, distinctly states that he had his boats in the water specially, in order to be prepared for any mishap of the kind, and immediately on the accident taking place he despatched

assistance. On their arrival, the natives came forward with good supplies of food in the shape of hogs, fowls, dogs, and fruit; and Pickersgill was at once sent away to the south to try to obtain more. Having heard that his old friend Oree was coming to see him, Cook went ashore; but was not allowed to land till certain ceremonials had been completed. The boat was drawn up close to the chief's house, and then five young plantain trees, emblems of peace, were carried on board one by one, the first three being each accompanied by a young pig, its ears ornamented with cocoanut fibre; the fourth was accompanied by a dog, and the last by a bag which Cook had left in Oree's charge in 1769, containing the pewter plate with the inscription relating to the visit of the *Endeavour*, and the beads and imitation coins. Acting on the advice of his guide, Cook decorated three of the plaintains with nails, medals, beads, etc., and he, Furneaux, and Forster landed with them in their hands. They were requested to sit down a short distance away, and the trees were taken from them and placed before Oree; the first for God, the second for the king, and the third for friendship. The chief then came forward and greeted Cook in a most affectionate manner, the tears trickling down his cheeks the while. Further presents were exchanged, and the ceremony was over.

During their stay here they were able to purchase between 300 and 400 hogs, many of them only small ones, generally from 40 to 50 lb. weight, but some being as much as 100 lb., besides fowls and fruit in plenty; and Cook says that if he had been able to stay longer he might have bought as much more, for there appeared to be an abundant supply of everything. The only disagreeable thing that occurred was to Mr Sparrman, who was set upon one day when out by himself botanising, and stripped of everything except his trousers —Besant says except his spectacles. He made his way

towards the boats, when he was seen by a native, who presented him with a piece of cloth to put over his shoulders, and conducted him to his friends. On his appearance there was some little alarm, and trading was stopped for a time. Oree was informed at once of the robbery, and placed himself, much against the will of his people, in Cook's hands, and did his best to find the culprits. Sparrman's hanger and the greater part of his things were recovered; and just as the ship was about to sail word was sent that the offenders had been secured, but it was too late for Cook to go ashore. As otherwise every one had been so well treated, it seems probable, though there is no proof, that Mr Sparrman had unwittingly transgressed some native law, and the assault was intended as punishment. Before leaving, Cook added to Oree's treasures by presenting him with a copper plate, on which was inscribed, "Anchored here, His Britannic Majesty's Ships *Resolution* and *Adventure*, September 1773." Some medals were also presented to him, and he was instructed to show them to any visitors that came. In return he sent off to Cook, just as the ships were starting, a boatload of roasted fruits and roots.

On the arrival of the ships at Ulietea they were entertained at a "heava" or dramatic performance, one portion of which illustrated a robbery by two men; and Cook says it was acted "in such a masterly manner as sufficiently displayed the genius of the people in this vice." Having so many hogs on board, they were at first obliged to decline purchasing any more, but as the supply of fruit was not large a boat from each ship was sent under Mr Pickersgill to an island Cook calls O'Taha, where it was said it was plentiful. They were able to purchase at a reasonable rate as much as they had means to pay for; but during negotiations the bag containing the "trade" was stolen. Pickersgill immediately seized everything of value he could lay his hands

on, at the same time signifying that as soon as the bag and its contents were returned he would give them all up again. In the evening a chief who had stood by them the whole day went away, and soon afterwards returned with the bag and about half its contents. Eventually the whole was recovered, and the boats were able to leave with good loads and in a perfectly friendly manner.

The day these boats went away the natives of Ulietea entertained the crews of the two vessels at a dinner and the usual "heava," but during the night every one disappeared, much to the astonishment and annoyance of Cook, who was at first under the impression that something very serious had happened to offend them. Enquiries, however, soon revealed the fact that the natives had concluded, as the boats did not return at night, that it was a case of desertion, and that they might perhaps be held in some way responsible, so they sought safety in flight.

After leaving this island the course was to the south of west in order to get clear of the tracks of other navigators, and afterwards to call in at Middleburg and Amsterdam. Each night they lay to in order that they might not pass any unknown island, and on 23rd September Harvey's Islands were sighted and named. On 1st October Middleburg was reached, but as no good anchorage or safe landing-place was seen, they bore up for Amsterdam. However, before they got clear away, a couple of canoes came off, and the coast opening out in a more promising manner they again ran in and found anchorage in twenty-five fathoms. Plenty of people now came off to the ships, quite unarmed, and several, amongst whom was a chief named Tioony, came on board, and when the boats went ashore they were shown a landing-place quite secure from the surf. The people here were so anxious to trade that those who could not get near enough to hand their

goods into the boats, pitched them over the heads of their friends.

Some of the party accompanied Tioony to his house, which was delightfully situated, and were there entertained with music and refreshments, consisting of cocoanuts, bananas, and a few shaddocks, which Forster calls "pumplemoses." The ships' bagpipes played to the great enjoyment of the natives. Turnbull, who visited the Pacific Islands in the years 1800 to 1804, says that these instruments were remembered, and in Otaheite they were specially asked for. Three native girls sang rather nicely and were rewarded with presents, whereon all the women began singing in a manner which Cook describes as "both musical and harmonious." A short walk on the shore disclosed some plantations "well laid out and kept," but as no eatables appeared to be forthcoming for sale, Cook decided to make for Amsterdam the next day. On leaving, the ships ran along the shore for a short distance, the waves breaking high upon the rocks and the people accompanying them waving flags and boughs. When about half-way over to Amsterdam three canoes tried in vain to board, and when near the island three men who had been accidentally carried off from Middleburg, not knowing that the ships would anchor, jumped overboard and swam ashore.

When the southern point of the island had been passed, several canoes came out, the occupants presenting cava root as a token of peace, and coming on board without the slightest hesitation, invited the mariners ashore. The ships anchored in eighteen fathoms, and were very soon crowded with visitors. Nothing but cloth was offered for sale, and Cook, finding that the sailors were parting with clothing they would be wanting very shortly for themselves, forbade any curiosities whatever being bought, with the result that next morning pigs, fowls, cocoanuts, and bananas, were

produced, and, having appointed officers to superintend all purchases, he, Furneaux, Forster, and some of the others went ashore. A chief named Attago, who had attached himself to Cook before they came to anchor, and had presented him with some native cloth, etc., accompanied them, proving of great service to them in their dealings with his countrymen. Mr Hodges painted a picture of this landing, but, as Mr Forster very justly points out, the attire of the natives is obviously far too classical to give a correct idea of the scene. It was noticed that many of the natives had lost the top joints of the little finger of one and sometimes of both hands; on enquiry this was understood to be a mark of mourning for the loss of parents.

The fowls obtained here were remarkably good, and the sailors purchased some for the purpose of cock-fighting, but they were not a success in that *rôle*, but proved much more satisfactory in the pot. Cook describes the island as being well cultivated, not an inch of ground wasted either in roads or fences; neither of these being allowed any more space than was absolutely necessary. Forster saw a large casuarina tree covered with what he at first thought to be crows, but he afterwards found they were that pest to the fruit grower—flying foxes. He also states that the *Resolution* anchored in the exact spot where Tasman anchored when he discovered the island.

The natives here were as much addicted to thieving as were the majority of the South Sea Islanders met with. One man got into the Master's cabin and stole some books; he was detected, and chased, but got off in his canoe; a boat was sent after him, and when he found he was being closely pressed he took to the water; when overtaken, he dived under the boat, unshipped the rudder, and, the boat being uncontrolled, managed to get clear away. Mr Wales going ashore took off his shoes and stockings to save them from the wet, and they

were at once snatched up by a native, who ran off with them over the coral rocks, leaving poor Wales in what Cook calls "an unpleasant but laughable position," unable to follow over the sharp stones. Attago soon afterwards recovered them. Several enclosed pieces of ground were noticed which were supposed by the officers to be burial-places such as they had seen before, but Cook saw that one or two particular men were accustomed to repeat speeches apparently of a set nature, and concluded that they were for some sort of religious worship. The language in these islands was closely allied to that of the Society group, many words being the same. Just before the ships left, a chief made his appearance, who was treated with great deference by the other natives; but from his stolidity Cook thought him to be idiotic. He appeared to take interest in nothing that was going on round him, and received his presents almost without notice. He, however, afterwards acknowledged their receipt by sending some cooked fruit and a pig in return.

On 7th October they sailed for New Zealand, but were detained by contrary winds, and did not sight the land in the vicinity of Table Cape till 21st October. Cook stood close in to Tolago and Poverty Bays, with the intention of presenting to any chief who might come off to him, pigs, fowls, and garden seeds, in hopes of stocking the islands in due course. However, no one came out to them, so they went on to Cape Kidnappers, where a couple of chiefs made their appearance, and to the principal one he gave two boars and two sows, four hens and two cocks, making him promise that he would not kill them; he also furnished him with a supply of garden seeds such as peas, beans, cabbages, turnips, onions, etc. When these visitors had left them, they stood on through a series of heavy squalls, in one of which the *Resolution* lost her fore-top-gallant mast; and at length the storms culminated in a

heavy gale which lasted for a week, and then, after a slight moderation, came on again with increased fury, and the two vessels parted company.

On 3rd November the *Resolution* reached her old anchorage in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte's Sound; but the *Adventure* was seen no more during the voyage. Mr Forster was dreadfully upset by the stormy weather, "the dreadful energy of the language" of the sailors, the absence of their consort, which "doubled every danger," the shortness of the table supplies, and his dislike to a further trip to the southern latitudes. Cook was hopeful that the *Adventure* might come in, and pushed on with his refitting, so that no more time than was actually necessary should be lost before he was in a position to continue his exploration to the Antarctic regions. The stores were thoroughly overhauled, and about 4,000 lbs. weight of ship's bread was found to be quite unfit for food, and some 3,000 more was almost as bad. They were very fortunate, therefore, in getting a plentiful supply of scurvy grass and wild celery, and a small quantity of vegetables from the gardens they had made at their previous visits. They found that the two goats left behind had been killed and eaten, and the two pigs had been separated. However, still hoping for better fortune, three sows and a boar, two cocks and two hens, were left in what was thought to be a safe place in West Bay. Cook also gave to some strangers who visited them whilst they were getting water, and who appeared inclined to be friendly, two cocks and two hens, and a boar and sow. The next morning the natives were found to have disappeared, leaving the boar behind, so, as it was the last one left, it was again taken on board to be put ashore at some other more favourable opportunity.

Whatever doubts may have been felt about the cannibalism of the New Zealanders were set at rest by some of the officers who surprised a party engaged

in a feast. A human head was purchased from them and taken on board, and on a piece of the flesh being offered to a Maori it was greedily devoured. A Society Islander, named Odidie, who was on board, was intensely horrified, and even refused to touch the knife with which it had been cut, nor would he in any way be friendly with the eater. Cook firmly believed that only the flesh of enemies killed in battle was eaten, and did not think that the custom had arisen from any scarcity of food.

Having written a memorandum giving the times of his arrival and departure, the direction in which he intended to steer, and other information he thought necessary for Furneaux's guidance, he enclosed it in a bottle and buried it under a marked tree in the garden. On 25th November, they sailed, and in passing through the straits guns were continually fired, and a sharp look-out kept for the *Adventure*; but as nothing was seen of her, Cook gave up all hopes of her rejoining, as no other rendezvous had been appointed. The *Resolution* bore up to the south-east, but had the course been north-east it is possible the two ships might have again met, as the *Adventure* was then on her way from Tolago Bay; and she arrived in Ship's Cove four days after the departure of her consort. Cook says that his crew were in good spirits, and in no way dejected, "or thought the dangers we had yet to go through were in the least increased by being alone." They were quite ready to go "wherever I might think proper to lead them," and Mr Forster had to admit at a little later date, that

"notwithstanding the constant perils to which our course exposed us, in this unexplored ocean, our ship's company were far from being so uneasy as might have been expected."

Cape Palliser was passed on 26th November, and on 6th December at 8.30 A.M. they reckoned they were

"at the Antipodes to our Friends in London, consequently as far removed from them as possible." At this point Cook concluded from the swell coming from the south-west that there was no great body of land in that direction, excepting at a great distance. The first ice was seen in latitude 62° 10′ S. on 12th December, and on the 15th in latitude 66° Cook thought it prudent to edge away to the north, as they were surrounded by large quantities of loose ice, and the atmosphere was loaded with fog. He worked up to between 64° and 65°, and then again headed eastwards still hampered by ice and fog, but after a few days the weather improved a little, and he again made south, crossing the Antarctic Circle on the 20th, reaching 67° 31′ S. on the 23rd—the highest latitude hitherto attained. The rigging was so coated with ice that it was difficult to work the ship, and the cold was so intense that Cook decided to run to the north-east as there appeared no probability of finding any land in these regions. Marra's Journal says, under 18th December:

"Icicles frequently hung to the noses of the men more than an inch long;" and again, "the men, cased in frozen snow, as if clad in armour, where the running rigging has been so enlarged by frozen sleet as hardly to be grasped by the largest hand . . . yet, under all these hardships, the men cheerful over their grog, and not a man sick, but of old scars."

In these high latitudes, Cook says that many of the men suffered from a fever brought on by the cold and unavoidable exposure to the wet, but fortunately it was very slight, and "happily yielded to the simplest remedies." The ship was now in a very dangerous position, being close to large masses of ice, and

"so perceiving that it was likely to be calm, I got the ship into as clear a berth as I could, where she drifted along with the ice, and by taking the advantage of

every light air of wind, was kept from falling aboard any of these floating isles. Here it was we spent Christmas Day, much in the same manner as we did the preceding one. We were fortunate in having continual daylight, and clear weather, for had it been foggy as on some of the preceding days nothing less than a miracle could have saved us from being dashed to pieces."

On 7th January 1774, five very successful observations were obtained, giving the mean latitude as 123° 21′ W.; the watch giving it as 123° 44′, and the dead reckoning 123° 39′. Cook signifies his keen appreciation of the watch provided, and says: "I must here take notice that our longitude can never be erroneous while we have so good a guide as Mr Kendal's watch." On the 11th he made another attempt to get south, and being far less hampered by floating ice, succeeded in reaching the high latitude of 71° 10′ S., longitude 106° 54′ W. on 30th January, when further progress was stopped by a large and solid field of ice.

Cook formed the opinion, which was shared by the majority of those on board, that this ice either extended as far as the South Pole or else was attached to some land "to which it had been fixed from the earliest time," and that there was no prospect of reaching any higher latitude with safety to the ship. He was thoroughly satisfied that there was no continent existing in the South Pacific except so far south as to be practically inaccessible on account of ice, and he acknowledged that he did not regret that he found it absolutely impossible to go any further.

However, as he believed that there was plenty of room in the unexplored parts of the South Pacific for large islands to exist, and also as he knew that many of the discoveries that had been already made, were but imperfectly laid down on the charts, he esteemed it his duty, as he had a well-found ship and a healthy crew,

to remain in these waters for a longer period, and to add what he could to the knowledge of geography and navigation. The plan of action he laid down was, first to try to find the land said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez in latitude 38° S., and, if unsuccessful, to proceed to Easter Island and fix its position, as it was very uncertain, then make for Otaheite, where he had a faint hope he might hear of the *Adventure*; afterwards proceeding further west he wished to settle the position of the "Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo" of De Quiros, and then turning south-east to reach Cape Horn in November, and thus have before him the best part of the summer for exploration in the South Atlantic. Of this plan, which he carried out with marvellous success, he says:

"Great as this design appears to be, I however thought it possible to be executed; and when I came to communicate it to the officers, I had the satisfaction to find that they all heartily concurred in it. I should not do these gentlemen justice if I did not take some opportunity to declare that they always shewed the utmost readiness to carry into execution in the most effectual manner, every measure I thought proper to take. Under such circumstances it is hardly necessary to say, that the seamen were always obedient and alert; and on this occasion they were so far from wishing the voyage at an end, that they rejoiced at the prospect of its being prolonged another year and of soon enjoying the benefits of a milder climate."

This is far from agreeing with Mr Forster's account, for he says:

"The long continuance in these cold climates began now to hang heavily on our crew, especially as it banished all hope of returning home this year, which had hitherto supported their spirits. At first a painful despondence owing to the dreary prospect of another year's cruize to the south seemed painted in every countenance; till by degrees they resigned themselves

to their fate with a kind of sullen indifference. It must be owned, however, that nothing could be more dejecting, than the entire ignorance of our future destination, which, without any apparent reason was constantly kept a secret to every person in the ship."

If the destination was kept a secret, how could the crew be despondent at the dreary prospect of another year's cruise to the south, and how could "all the officers heartily concur in it?" On 15th January poor Mr Forster had another painful experience. A heavy sea broke over the ship, and some water made its way through the skylight, putting out the unfortunate man's candle and rendering things generally unpleasantly moist; but it gave him the opportunity of doing some fine writing on the dangers of the deep.

The decision to return to the north was made none too soon, for on 6th February a furious storm came on, which lasted till the next morning, playing havoc with the sails and running rigging, and although it then abated somewhat, it continued to blow very strong till the 12th, and would have been very dangerous had it caught them when amidst the ice. On the 17th Cook calculated that he had crossed his outward track of 1769, and on the 20th he notes the only real summer day they had experienced since leaving New Zealand, the thermometer rising to 66°. Having arrived at the position laid down for the land seen by Juan Fernandez, he cruised about but could discover no signs of any, so he gave up the search, and on the 25th stood away north again.

Cook was now taken seriously ill with what he calls "the bilious cholic," and was confined to his bed for several days, during which time he says: "Mr Patten, the surgeon, was to me, not only a skilful physician, but an affectionate nurse." Owing to the unremitting attention of the doctor, he recovered slowly; but the want of fresh food told greatly against him when it came to a

question of gathering strength. The only fresh meat available on board was a dog belonging to Mr Forster, which was duly sacrificed and made into soup. "Thus I received nourishment and strength from food which would have made most people in Europe sick." Mr Patten suffered very severely from his devotion to his chief; indeed he nearly lost his own life from the same complaint. Marra's Journal says, under 23rd February:

"This day the Captain was taken ill, to the grief of all the ship's company." On 28th February, "The Captain this day much better, which each might read in the countenance of the other, from the highest officer to the meanest boy on board the ship." 4th March, "The Captain perfectly recovered from his illness, to the great joy of the ship's company."

On 11th March land was seen from the masthead at 8 A.M., and was visible from the deck at noon. This was soon ascertained to be Easter Island, and very shortly some of the gigantic statues mentioned in "Roggewin's Voyages," were to be clearly distinguished through the glasses. The position of the ship at noon was found to be 27° 3′ S., 109° 46′ W. They stood on and off till next morning and then found fair anchorage in thirty-six fathoms, but being a little too near the edge of a bank they were driven off in the night following. One or two canoes came off to them, from one of which a bunch of plantains was obtained; and whilst the ship was working back to her place, Cook landed, and was quickly surrounded by natives, some of whom even swam out to greet him. Some of the natives possessed European hats, jackets, handkerchiefs, etc., which they were said to have received from Spaniards who visited them in 1770. Their language was very similar to that of Otaheite, and Odidie was able to understand them fairly well. The island is described as being extremely parched and dreary in appearance, although a few plantations were seen; but there were no

trees exceeding ten feet in height. Some remarkable pieces of stone-work were noticed, enclosing small areas of ground, in some of which were the statues already mentioned. These did not seem to be regarded as objects of worship by the natives, who nevertheless appeared to dislike the pavements, by which the figures were surrounded, being walked over, or the statues being too closely examined. Mr Forster regarded these enclosures as burial-grounds, and the statues as monuments to chiefs. As the water supply was found to be very bad, though Gonzales is said to have found some good springs, and the food offered for sale was but scanty, the stay was cut short, and on 16th March the voyage north was resumed with the object of finding the Marquesas Islands discovered by Mendaña in 1595. Under the date 17th March, Marra says:

"The fresh provisions taken in at Easter Island were now dealt out by the Captain's order, and at the Captain's expense, equally among the men, namely, two pounds of potatoes a man, and a bunch of bananas to each mess; and this without reducing their ordinary allowance; an act of generosity which produced its effect; it preserved the crew in health, and encouraged them to undergo cheerfully the hardships that must unavoidably happen in the course of so long a voyage."

The Marquesas group was sighted on 7th April and, after a very narrow escape from running on the rocks, a satisfactory anchorage was obtained, and the ship received a visit from some of the inhabitants, from whom bread-fruit and fish were purchased. The following day a great number of people came off with more fruit and a hog, which they gladly exchanged for nails. They were inclined to be a little too smart in their dealings, and on several occasions succeeded in obtaining payment for goods without delivery.

Cook had had a relapse and again suffered from bilious fever—but not so severely as before; he was able

to go about, and after warning the officer of the watch to keep a smart look-out or something of importance would be stolen, had taken his place in a boat for the purpose of searching for a better anchorage, when he was informed that an iron stanchion had been stolen from the gangway, and that the thief had reached his canoe with the spoil on the other side of the ship. Cook ordered a shot to be fired over the canoes, but no one was to be hurt, and he would pull round to the other side to secure the thief. The order seems to have been only partly heard or misunderstood for the shot was fired and the thief killed, and the other natives immediately made for the shore. After a time trading was resumed, and the lesson did not appear to have had much effect, for they made an attempt to steal the kedge anchor by which the ship was being warped nearer in shore. Cook landed, and the people traded as if nothing had occurred out of the common, a few small pigs and some fruit being purchased. In the afternoon the boats were sent in for water, and all the natives were found to have disappeared, but for what reason could not be understood; the next morning, however, Cook again landed and was able to resume trading. He attributed the scare of the previous afternoon to the fact of his absence. A short trip was made in the boats along the coast and a few supplies were obtained, but very little fresh meat, which was much wanted. The pigs were so small that it required some forty or fifty to provide one meal for the crew! On the return of the boats it was found that the market was closed; it appeared that one of "the young gentlemen" had given a small handful of red feathers he had obtained at Tonga, for a pig, and now nothing else would be accepted, so there was nothing further to be done but leave, and they sailed on the 11th for Otaheite, with their captain very much annoyed at their ill success in obtaining fresh provisions, for he considered that though

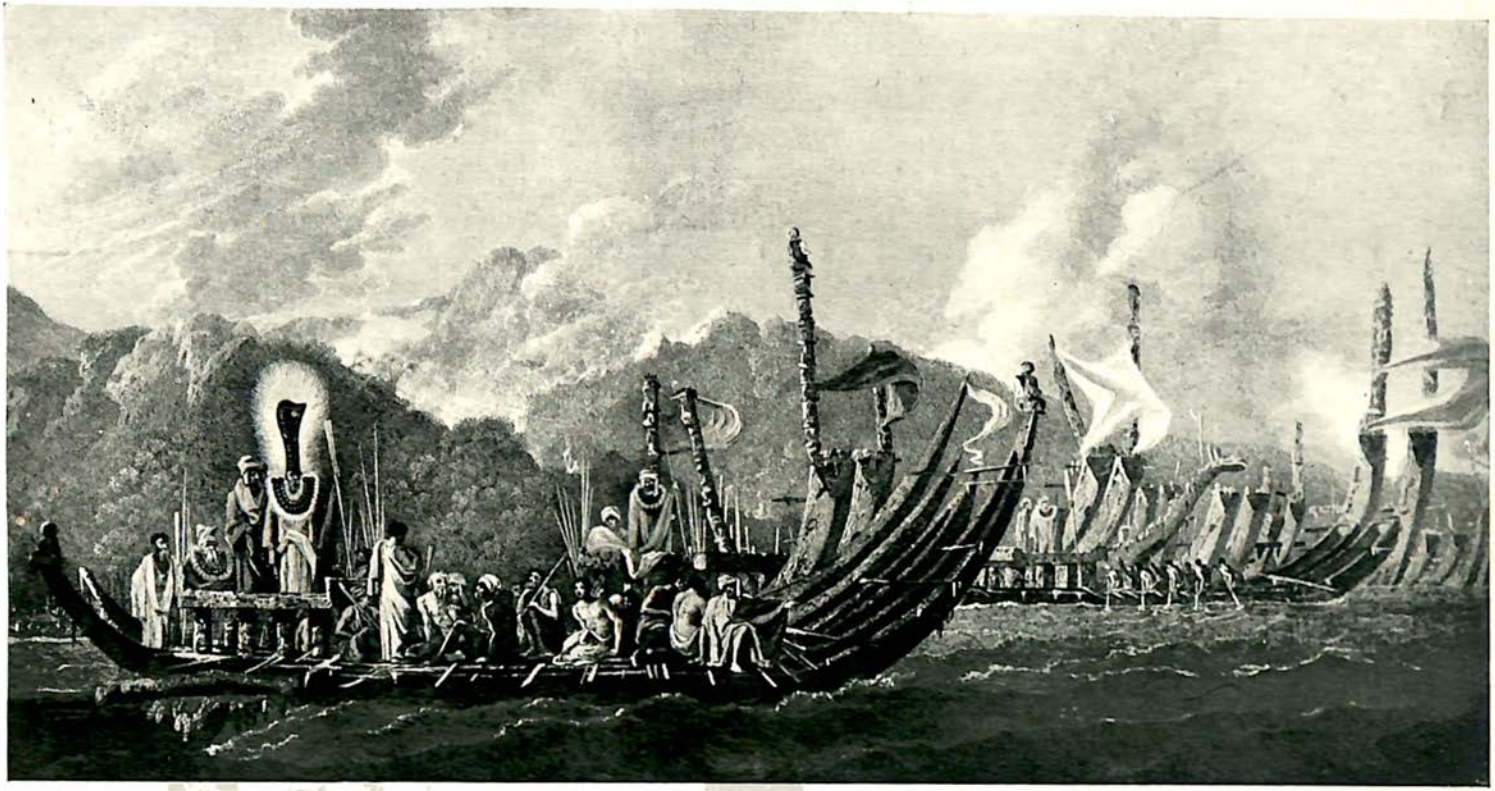
the crew were not actually ill, they stood in need of a change. He describes the inhabitants as the finest race he had seen in the South Seas; they were almost as fair as Europeans, and their language was very similar to that of Otaheite. Their arms consisted of clubs, spears, and slings, the two former very neatly made, and with the latter they were able to throw stones a very considerable distance, but with no great accuracy. Mr Forster managed to secure a quantity of small birds of very beautiful plumage.

On 17th April they came across a string of small islands joined together by a coral reef, and as no soundings could be obtained on the outside a boat was despatched through an opening to examine the inside; but the Master, who was in charge, did not bring back such a report as would induce Cook to risk his ship by entering. He contented himself with sending two armed boats under Mr Cooper to see if it was possible to trade, and a few dogs were purchased; but as it was getting late and the attitude of the inhabitants seemed rather uncertain, they returned to the ship without landing. A few cocoanuts were also obtained, and as one of the sailors purchased a dog for one plantain Mr Cooper concluded that that fruit was either unknown or very scarce. These islands had previously been discovered and named the George Islands, by Byron; the native name was given as Tiookea. On the 19th four more islands of a similar character were discovered, which Cook named Palliser Islands, and on rounding one a swell rolling in from the south was encountered, "a sure sign that we were clear of these low islands." The course was then set for Otaheite, which was sighted on the 21st, a point a little to the east of Point Venus being the first seen, and the next morning they anchored in Matavai Bay, being immediately visited by the natives who appeared greatly pleased to see them again. The old camp was at once

reoccupied, the observatory set up for Mr Wales, and Cook had again the pleasure to record that he had no one on the sick list.

The king came to visit the camp, bringing with him a present of a dozen pigs and some fruit, and he, with some of his friends, went on board for dinner, and to receive the usual gifts in exchange. It was found that here also the red feathers were greatly valued, and it was looked upon as a very fortunate circumstance as the supply of trade was running short. After the disappointment of his last visit, Cook had intended to make but a short stay; however, as the place appeared to be now in a very thriving condition, he determined to refit here instead of going to another island as he had at first intended. He found that houses and canoes were being built in every direction, and the people showed signs of general prosperity. On 25th April there occurred a thunderstorm, lasting about three hours, more severe than any one on board had witnessed before.

On the 26th Cook went by appointment to meet Otoo, and on approaching the shore was surprised to see a large number of canoes, fully manned, ranged along the coast, and a large body of armed men gathered near on the land. On getting out of his boat he was at once surrounded by the people, and was seized by two chiefs, one of whom wished to carry him off to the fleet and the other to take him to the king, and betwixt the two he "was like to be pulled to pieces." The crowd made way for them with cries of "Tiya no Tootee," and he was gradually dragged towards the canoes, but he refused to go on board, and after some time was permitted to rejoin his own boats, when he found that his companions had been subject to similar treatment. They put off from the shore in order to have a good look at the fleet, and counted one hundred and sixty large double canoes, all well equipped and fully manned. The chiefs were swathed in vast quantities



THE FLEET OF OTAHEITE.

From an engraving after Hodges, in the United Service Museum. By permission of the Council.

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of cloth, so that to the Englishmen it seemed almost a miracle that they were able to move. The vessels were decorated with flags and streamers, and made a very fine appearance. These composed the first line, and, in addition, there were one hundred and seventy smaller double canoes, each having a small house or cabin on it, which were thought to be intended for transports and store ships, as the larger ones, as far as could be seen, carried no supplies on board. The total number of men in the fleet was estimated by Cook to be not less than 7,500. It was ascertained that this armament was destined for the conquest of the island of Eimeo, which had lately rebelled against Otaheite.

Cook was informed that the king was waiting at the camp to see him, but on going there he found that he had not been, and on again looking for him in the afternoon he was still invisible; and the fleet had also gone away. It was at length discovered that some clothes of Cook's which had been in the wash had been stolen, and the king and the commander of the fleet having heard of the fact were in great dread of his anger. However, on Cook sending word that he should take no steps to recover the articles, things again resumed a friendly aspect, and the Admiral, Towha, sent Cook a present of two large pigs and some fruit, giving orders to the bearers that they were to receive nothing in exchange. He afterwards came on board to dine, and, never having been on the ship before, he examined everything with the greatest curiosity, and appeared much impressed with what he saw. As one of the natives had been caught in the act of going off with a small water cask, Cook determined that he should not be unpunished, and made a ceremonial affair of it. The culprit was first sent on board ship and put in irons, and when the natives and the ship's company had been mustered, he was taken ashore and triced up; Cook then delivered a short speech, in which he pointed

out that when his men were caught stealing from the natives they were always punished, but that the natives were always stealing from the ship and crew and escaped any punishment, he therefore ordered that this thief should receive two dozen lashes. These were duly administered, and then Towha made a speech in which he was understood to admit the justice of Cook's proceedings. The marines were then put through their exercises and fired a few volleys with ball, and the proceedings ended; but Cook declares he was quite unable to ascertain whether the natives had been pleased or frightened by the ceremony. The king's brother afterwards took some of the officers out to see a part of the fleet at exercise, and they were just in time for the conclusion of the manœuvres and the landing of the men. Cook says the canoes were handled very smartly, and "five minutes after putting ashore, you could not tell anything of the kind had been going forward." Mr Hodges was present and made a sketch, which is published in the Journal of this voyage.

The sea stores were again overhauled, and notwithstanding the careful packing, very large quantities of bread were found to be uneatable. Fortunately, a good supply of the vegetable products of the island was forthcoming for their daily wants, but little of this could be preserved for use at sea. Leave to cut wood was asked, and was at once granted, and Cook's unsolicited promise that no fruit trees should be touched was received with gratitude.

Cook received a state visit from Otoo's father and some other members of the royal family, and was given,

"as a present, a complete mourning dress, a curiosity we most valued. In return, I gave him whatever he desired, which was not a little, and having distributed red feathers to all the others, conducted them ashore in my boat."

On 7th May Cook received word that the king was desirous of seeing him, so he at once went ashore, but on his arrival Otoo was not to be found, and many of the leading natives had also disappeared. The sergeant of the Marines reported that one of his men had his musket stolen from him whilst on duty, so Cook returned to the ship and sent word that if the gun was returned nothing more would be said about it. Shortly after the departure of his messenger, six canoes laden with baggage, fruit, and hogs, were noticed, and suspicions were aroused that the occupants knew something of the theft, so Cook gave chase to them in his own boat. One canoe, on his approach made for the ship, and on being overtaken, the occupants, all women whom he recognised, informed him that they were taking some of the things to the *Resolution*, and that the king was at Point Venus. He at once made for the camp, to find that this had been merely a ruse, and all the canoes were making off, so he again gave chase, ordering another boat to follow him. A few shots were fired, and five out of the six canoes surrendered, the one he had previously spoken with getting away. The occupants of the prizes told Cook that the musket had been stolen by a native of Tiarabou, and therefore Otoo was unable to get it back, so after some little discussion, he decided to let them go and put up with the loss, sending word to the king that he would say no more about it. In the evening, however, the musket and some other articles which had not been missed were returned, and the men who brought them back were duly rewarded. Cook says that it was then truly remarkable how many had been actively engaged in their recovery. One man in particular described most vividly how he had followed up, attacked, and killed the thief of the musket with his club; but at the same time every one was perfectly well aware that the self-styled hero had never been away from his own house throughout the

day. Cook afterwards called on Otoo, and with some little explanation and the usual exchange of presents, the old friendly footing was resumed. On the way back to the ship a call was made at "the dockyards, for such they deserve to be called," and some of the canoes in course of construction were inspected; two of them being the largest the Englishmen had as yet seen.

Everything being on a satisfactory footing again Otoo was invited on board, and at his request the big guns were fired; but Cook thinks it very doubtful if the experience was enjoyed. A display of fireworks was given in the evening, which was much more appreciated. In referring to the numerous thefts which took place, Cook says he believed it to be far the best method to deal with the delinquents in the mildest possible manner, and the regulations he thought fit to make were, as a rule, well kept by the natives. He was now much better pleased with his reception, and came to the conclusion that the island was in a much more prosperous condition than at his last visit. Hogs, a most important item to him, were plentiful, and houses and canoes were being built in considerable numbers. When the ship was ready for the resumption of the voyage several of the young natives volunteered to accompany her, and Mr Forster was most anxious to take one as a servant; but Cook would not permit it, as he saw no prospect of being able to return him to his home.

On 14th May the anchor was weighed, and as the ship was leaving, one of the gunner's mates, named Marra, who had joined the *Endeavour* at Batavia, tried to desert by slipping quietly into the water and attempting to swim to a canoe which was evidently hanging about for the purpose of picking him up. He was, however, seen and taken on board again, and in his Journal expresses his regret that the scientific world lost

the chance of obtaining the experiences of a prolonged residence amongst these people.

When the *Resolution* left, there was great talk about the expedition against Eimeo, and Cook would very much have liked to watch the proceedings; but it soon became evident that nothing would be done whilst he remained in the vicinity.

On their arrival at Huaheine on the 15th, the ship was boarded by Cook's old friend Oree, who brought him a pig as a present, and the next morning the call was returned, and he with some of his friends were invited to dine on board. On being asked what he would like for his present, he said that axes and nails would be very acceptable; so some were given to him with the request that he would distribute them amongst his people, which he at once did to the apparent satisfaction of every one. The thieving propensities of the natives were still unchecked notwithstanding the steps that had been taken to put an end to them. A shooting party was robbed of the whole of its stock of trade goods, and the following day three officers out shooting were seized and stripped, so Cook took an armed party on shore, and capturing two chiefs and a large house, held them as indemnity which soon had the desired effect, for everything was shortly afterwards returned. Mr Forster gives a very circumstantial account of the second robbery, throwing the whole blame on the officers; but as he was not present at the time, his version is not reliable, and differs very materially from all the others. Cook made a formal complaint to Oree, and was invited to take a party ashore again and join in the attempt to punish the marauders who were described as an organised band. Forty-eight men were landed and marched some six or seven miles inland on to some very rough country, where, as there seemed but a small prospect of attaining their object, and as Cook thought there might possibly be

some idea of leading them into an ambuscade, he gave orders for the return to the ship. Before embarking the men were put through some drill, and a few volleys were fired, which it was thought did more good than all the presents, as a considerable supply of fruit and a few pigs were sent on board that evening.

On 23rd May, they sailed for Ulietea, arriving next day, and were fairly well received, though no large quantities of provisions were obtainable. They received information here that two ships had arrived at Huaheine, one commanded by Banks, and the other by Furneaux; and Cook's informant described them both so well that it was some time before he ventured to reject the tale as too improbable. It is possible that there was some foundation for the story of ships having been seen, for it afterwards became known that M. St Dennis had been in the South Pacific about this time with two vessels.

Notwithstanding pressing invitations from the natives to make a longer stay, Cook sailed on 4th June, for Lord Howe's Island, discovered by Wallis, which he reached on the 6th, but as it appeared to be uninhabited, it offered no inducement for any stay. On the 16th, a chain of sandbanks and islets surrounding a lagoon into which no practicable entrance could be seen, was named Palmerston Islands, and on the 20th a landing was effected on Savage Island, but the natives were very threatening in their manner, and as the nature of the country enabled them to approach very closely without exposing themselves, the party retired on their boats. A few spears were thrown, one of which nearly struck Cook. Marra says that he saw it coming and stooped down just in time to avoid it. He aimed his musket, which was loaded with small shot, at the thrower, but it missed fire; but a short time afterwards he again tried it pointing into the air when it was discharged. Forster attributes the constant misfires that occurred to the bad quality of the flints

supplied by the Government, and says that the English flints had a very unsatisfactory reputation on the continent.

The course was now set for Rotterdam, where the ship arrived on 26th June, and was fairly well received by the natives, who brought a supply of yams, shaddocks, etc., for trade before the anchorage had been reached. In fact, they proved to be rather too friendly, and began to annex anything they could lay their hands on that took their fancy. One man even went so far as to seize the lead which was being used and tried to cut the line with a stone, and would not desist till a charge of small shot convinced him that it was to his interest to do so. A small party then went ashore to look for water, and a quantity was taken on board; but the natives again became too pressing with their attentions. First the doctor's musket was stolen, then Mr Clerke's, then some other things, amongst which was one of the cooper's adzes. Cook at first thought it advisable to take no notice, but matters grew worse, so he seized two canoes, and explained that he should keep them till the stolen articles had been returned. One man who had rendered himself conspicuous by his disorderly conduct, Cook wounded with a charge of small shot, and it was rumoured that he was killed, but Cook could not believe this, as he had carefully avoided aiming at a vital spot. After a time the muskets and some of the other things were returned, so the canoes were at once given up and the return of the adze redemanded; but the reported corpse was brought on board instead. He was examined by the doctor and proved to have a slight wound on the thigh and a second one on the wrist, and was very shortly on his feet again. After a little further discussion the adze was produced, and the next day the people were very civil, and the crew were able to water without interruption.

At the proper time for winding up the watch on the 28th, both Cook and the first lieutenant were on shore, and it was forgotten and allowed to run down; but as good observations had been obtained just before and other successful ones immediately afterwards, it was not of very serious importance. An island which appeared to be inhabited was seen about eleven or twelve leagues to the north-west, but as it did not look fertile or inviting in its appearance, and as the wind was contrary, it was not visited. It was believed to be an active volcano. Cook notes that at Rotterdam they saw more cases of leprosy than in any other of the South Sea Islands they had visited.

On 16th July Aurora Island, discovered by Bougainville, was sighted, but as it came on to blow hard, they did not attempt to anchor, but passed between it and the Isle of Lepers. The natives came down to the shore fully armed with bows and arrows, as if with the intention of opposing any attempt at a landing, and the ships passed on to Whitsunday Island. Off Malicolo good anchorage was found, and natives came on board, when finding themselves well received they again returned the next day in greater numbers, and there were soon more on the ship than Cook thought desirable. He was in his cabin with some who seemed to be the chiefs, when he heard a great noise on deck; he at once went up and found that one of the boat-keepers had declined to permit a native to get into the boat, and an altercation had arisen. As Cook came in sight the savage was fitting an arrow to his bow to shoot the boat-keeper, and when Cook shouted to him, he at once diverted his aim to the captain. However, the latter was a little too quick for him, and peppered him with a charge of small shot, and thus disconcerted him, but not being much hurt, he again fitted an arrow, so Cook gave him a second dose which induced him to

retire. Some of the others then discharged a few arrows so a musket was fired over them without any effect, and then a four-pounder, when the result was marvellous; the natives in the rigging and on deck threw themselves into the water, and those in the cabin jumped from the ports, and the ship was left in peace once more.

As wood and water was wanted, two boats were sent ashore with an armed party, and were met by a large body of natives fully armed with bows, spears, and clubs. Cook advanced towards them alone, bearing the recognised symbol of peace, a green bough, and one of the chiefs, handing his weapons to a companion, came to meet him, also carrying a bough, which he exchanged for the one Cook carried. The latter made signs that he wanted wood, and at once received permission to cut down the necessary trees. A pig was then presented to him for which he returned a piece of cloth, but beyond buying a few arrows and cocoanuts no trading could be done. No watering place was found, and as the natives appeared to dislike any attempt to explore the country, a return was made to the ship and the anchor weighed once more. Cook does not seem to have been very favourably impressed by the personal appearance of these islanders, for he writes that they were "in general, the most ugly ill-proportioned people I ever saw." Forster, however, describes them as being very intelligent. They were judged to be a race quite distinct from the inhabitants of either the Society or Friendly Islands, and their language was totally different.

After leaving Port Sandwich, as the place they had anchored at was named, many of those on board, who had eaten of a fish which Forster calls a red sea bream, were taken ill and suffered very severely for a week or ten days, but fortunately there were no fatal results. Cook believes these fish to be the same as those which

poisoned De Quiros's people. In the account of this event he says:

"The fish had eaten of poisonous plants, all parts of the flesh became empoisoned. The ships appeared like the Hospital of a city which had the plague; there was none who could stand on their feet."

Owing to the care and attention of the surgeons "all were recovered."

The next land seen was a small group of islands which Cook named Shepherd's Isles "in honour of my worthy friend Dr Shepherd, Plumian Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge." In describing the passage through this group Mr Forster says Cook's "rashness and reliance on good fortune become the principal roads to fame, by being crowned with great and undeserved success." This remark is peculiarly out of place as at this time Cook was exercising the very greatest precaution, fully recognising, perhaps even better than Mr Forster, the dangers by which he was surrounded. He invariably stood off and on during the night, and only proceeded through unexplored waters by daylight. It would seem that some one on board had been playing on Mr Forster's nerves by talking of rocks, shoals, and currents till the poor man's wits were nearly gone. Several of the islands in this group were of peculiar formation; one high columnar rock was named the Monument. Forster gives its height as 140 yards, but the other accounts say 140 feet. Many islands appeared to be inhabited, but no favourable opportunity was afforded for landing.

On 1st August poor Mr Forster was in great trouble again, for a fire broke out on board, and he says:

"Confusion and horror appeared in all our faces at the bare mention of it, and it was some time before proper measures were taken to stop its progress, for in these moments of danger few are able to collect their

LANDING AT MALLICOLO.

From the original by W. Hodges. By permission of the owner, H. Arthurton, Esq.

[*To face p.* 290.

LANDING AT ERROMANGO.

From an engraving after Hodges, in the United Service Museum. By permission of the Council.

[*To face p.* 291.

faculties and act with cool deliberation." After about half a page in this style, on fires in general, he observes: "Providentially, the fire of this day was very trifling and extinguished in a few moments."

A few days after, a marine fell overboard, but was quickly picked up, and being well looked after by his comrades suffered no ill effects from his accident; and Mr Forster improves the occasion by saying that his treatment and rapid recovery "was the result of an *esprit du corps* to which sailors, at present, are utter strangers." Surely an unwarranted sneer at the British tar, who has always been noted for a sound good nature and firm belief in his own ship and messmates, under his somewhat rough exterior.

At Erromango, on 4th August, the boats went in near the shore, a few yams and cocoanuts were obtained, and the natives tried to induce the crews to beach the boats, when something roused Cook's suspicions, who with one other man had got out into the water, and he stepped back, making signs that he would come back later. The natives then rushing into the water and seizing the boats tried to drag them ashore, and succeeding in obtaining two oars and saluting the crews with a shower of stones, arrows, and spears, several being wounded, amongst them Mr Gilbert, the Master. Cook tried to give one of the chiefs a charge of shot, but his gun missed fire and he very reluctantly had to order the marines to fire, with the result that at least four of the natives were wounded. Under these circumstances it was not considered desirable to remain, so the ship at once left for the Island of Tanna, some twelve leagues to the south, where a bright light had been noticed the night before, which was eventually found to have been caused by a volcanic eruption of vast quantities of fire and smoke. Fairly good anchorage was found here and the ship warped close in. Some of the natives came off with a few cocoanuts for sale, but soon began to develop

the usual thievish propensities, trying to carry off anything that took their fancy—the anchor buoys being a special attraction. Muskets were discharged over their heads to no purpose, so a four-pounder was fired which for a time had the desired effect, but very soon, as they were as bad as ever, two or three musquetoons were discharged close to them, and though none were hurt these proved efficacious and the crew were able to get their dinner in peace.

An old man, whom Cook calls Paowang, appeared to wish to be friendly and made several trips between the ship and the shore, each time bringing a few yams and cocoanuts which he exchanged for anything that was offered him; so under his guidance Cook landed with a strong party in the hopes of obtaining water. They were met by a party of natives, and presents were given to some of the elders for which they received a small supply of wood, water, and cocoanuts. The following day the ship was warped into a better position and three boats went ashore, when they were met by a large number of the inhabitants who were very threatening in their manner. After trying for some time to bring about a more peaceable state of affairs without any result, a signal was given to the ship, and several of the big guns were fired, causing a stampede of all the natives, except Paowang, who was rewarded with a present for his confidence in the white visitors. After a little further trouble a few cocoanuts were purchased, and permission to get wood, water, and ballast was procured; and whilst trying to lift a stone out of a pool of water below high-water mark one of the crew scalded his right hand badly. The pool proved to be one of a series of springs running down from a spur of the volcano into the sea. Several of them were tested with the thermometer, and one reached as high as 202° F., and on the ridge on which they were situated Forster found a number of cracks from

LANDING AT TANNA.

From the original by W. Hodges. In the possession of Henry Arthurton, Esq.

[*To face p.* 292.

which sulphurous vapour and smoke issued. One of the crew who had been suffering severely from rheumatism received great temporary relief from bathing in one of the hot springs, but afterwards the complaint reasserted itself.

A good many plantations of yams, sugar-cane and plantains of better quality than usual were seen, but only small amounts could be purchased, as the available "trade" did not appear to be of much value in the eyes of the natives. They did not require cloth, as they went almost entirely naked; and the use of iron was completely unknown to them. Whilst here, one of the sentries shot at and wounded a native for threatening him with his bow, and Cook was not pleased, particularly as he thought the wrong man had suffered; but Whitehouse, a Master's Mate, who witnessed the whole affair, says that the real culprit was punished. Just as they were prepared to leave it was found that the tiller-head was sprung, and a new one had to be made. A tree was selected for the purpose, but it was not till the chiefs had received a dog and some cloth that permission could be obtained to cut it down. Though no direct signs of cannibalism had come under their notice, Cook was convinced by what he understood from the people themselves that the practice was not unknown.

After leaving Port Resolution, as the anchorage had been named, they bore away to the south-west to see if any more land lay in that direction, but as none was to be found they rounded the south end of Tanna, and followed up the western coasts of the different islands till De Bougainville's Passage was reached, when they made for Espiritu Santo. When passing Malicolo several canoes put off for the ship, but as the wind was favourable Cook would not delay, and so gave Mr Forster the opportunity to remark that the main object of the voyage, that is to say, obtaining a knowledge of the natural history of the islands, was

made subservient to the production of a new track on the chart of the Southern Hemisphere by Cook.

On 24th August some small, low, wooded islets were seen which in honour of the day were named St Bartholemew's Isles, and on the next day they entered the bay which Cook believed to be that discovered by De Quiros, and named by him the Bay of St Philip and St Iago in the "Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo," now known as the New Hebrides. In this conclusion Cook is supported by Dalrymple and modern geographers; but Mr Forster felt compelled to differ, though his reasons are not quite clear. Cardinal Moran, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, also believes Cook to have been mistaken, for in his "History of the Catholic Church in Australia," he places De Quiros's discovery in Port Curtis, Queensland, where he claims that the first Catholic service ever celebrated in Australia was held. He puts on one side the fact that the latitudes of the two places do not agree (Port Curtis being 24° S. and De Quiros giving his as 15° 20′ S.), saying that the position of newly discovered places were, in those days, "often purposely concealed lest other navigators might appropriate to themselves and their respective countries, the results of the discovery." He quotes the details given in De Quiros's petitions to the King of Spain, and then says, "All these details fit in admirably with Port Curtis on the Queensland coast." Now De Quiros states the country was thickly inhabited by a people who were armed with bows and arrows, who possessed vessels made of earthenware, who lived in houses built of wood and roofed with palm leaves, and who were amply supplied by Nature with oranges, limes, almonds larger than those of Spain, cocoanuts, melons, pears, nutmegs, sweet basil, ebony, goats, fowls, capons, hogs, etc., etc. He states that in the bay where he anchored, there was no sandy, barren ground, no mangroves, no ants, and no mosquitoes.

He says that his anchorage lay between two rivers of considerable size. How his Eminence can venture to assert that these details "fit in admirably" with the real state of things in Port Curtis is beyond the comprehension of less distinguished mortals.

In Port Curtis the population was very sparse at the time of its discovery by white men, and no signs whatever have been found of its ever having been thickly inhabited; bows and arrows and earthen vessels were entirely unknown on the whole of the Australian continent; houses did not exist in any form, except that of temporary shelters of branches, leaves, and bark; the fruits and animals mentioned by De Quiros were entirely unknown, and sandy barren country with mangroves, ants, and mosquitoes does exist in considerable quantity. The anchorage, had De Quiros ever been there, might have been between two rivers, now the Boyne and the Calliope, but they are both of them of small size, and Cardinal Moran, to make this detail "fit in," has recourse to the bold measure of moving the mouth of the Burnett River from Wide Bay to Port Curtis—more than a degree to the north of its real position.

On the other hand, Cook's short description of the New Hebrides does "fit in" with much greater accuracy. The latitude was found to be 15° 5′ S., and Mr Cooper, who was sent ashore with the boats, reported that he landed near a fine river or stream of fresh water, "probably one of those mentioned by De Quiros; and if we were not deceived, we saw the other." The country is described as being very fertile in appearance;

"an uncommonly luxuriant vegetation was everywhere to be seen; the sides of the hills were chequered with plantations; and every valley watered by a stream; of all the productions of nature this country was adorned with, the cocoanut trees were the most conspicuous."

Whilst working up the bay, the wind being light

and variable, the ship was watched from a respectful distance by several canoes with which they did not succeed in opening up any communication, but on the following day two or three canoes, whose occupants were armed only with fishing spears, ventured near enough to have a few presents thrown to them; but here the intercourse ended, for Cook, notwithstanding the inviting appearance of the place, determined to waste no further time away from the main object of his voyage, *i.e.*, exploration of the southern ocean, and as the ship was not in want of anything he could procure at these islands, and as the wind was favourable, he sailed for New Zealand to refit and refresh.

CHAPTER XIV

1774-1775—SECOND VOYAGE—*CONTINUED*

On 4th September Midshipman Colnett sighted land, which proved to be a large island, to which Cook gave the name of "New Caledonia," the point seen being called "Cape Colnett." A reef at first prevented the ship from approaching, but on the boats being sent out to sound, an opening was soon discovered, and the *Resolution* worked up to the anchorage, where she was quickly surrounded by canoes, whose occupants were totally unarmed. At first they were very shy of coming near, but at length those in one canoe were persuaded to receive some small presents, and in return gave some fish, which "stunk intolerably," but it was received in hopes that further and more satisfactory trading might result. After a time some of them were persuaded to come on board, dinner was offered to them, but they would touch nothing but yams. They appeared to have no knowledge of dogs, cats, hogs, or goats, but greatly appreciated both red cloth and nails. After dinner Cook landed, and was received in a friendly manner by the inhabitants, to the chief of whom he, as usual, made presents. He indicated by signs that he wanted water for the ship, and was conducted to a small straggling village, where water was pointed out, but it was too inconvenient of access. The land near the village was well cultivated and irrigated, the plantations consisting chiefly of yams, plantains, and cocoanuts, but the latter were not bearing much fruit.

As an eclipse of the sun was expected on the 6th, Mr Wales took possession of a small island, and was able to secure a moderately good observation; the period of first contact was partially obscured by clouds. From this observation the position of the island was fixed as 20° 17′ 39″ S., 164° 41′ 21″ E. On this day the ship's butcher, named Monk, "a man much esteemed in the ship," fell down the forehatch, and suffered such injuries that he died the next day. Whilst the crew were employed in getting a supply of water on board, a convenient place having been found by Mr Pickersgill, a small party went up the hills to inspect the surrounding country. They were escorted by some of the natives, and as all they met turned back to follow, Cook remarks, "at last our train was numerous." They got a splendid view, being able to see right across the island, the width of which was estimated at not more than 10 leagues. On their return to the ship they found that the clerk had purchased a fish, something like a sunfish, and as it was a new kind, some little trouble was taken to draw and describe it. The liver and roe were prepared for supper, and Cook and the Forsters ate some. About three in the morning Forster woke up feeling seriously ill, and found that his son and Cook were also suffering severely. The doctor was immediately called, but notwithstanding his most careful attention, it was some time before they completely recovered. In the morning some of the natives saw the fish hanging up, and immediately signified that it was not good to eat, though Cook says that when it was purchased nothing of the kind was intimated. Whilst Cook was away from the ship, a chief with about twenty followers visited it with a present of yams and sugar cane, and was greatly delighted to receive a couple of dogs on the captain's return. Owing to the dangerous nature of the reef, the ship could not be taken very near in, so Gilbert and Pickersgill were sent out in

the boats to explore to the westward, but were not successful in obtaining any information of interest. Gilbert believed he had seen the north-western end of the island, but the reef and shoals prevented them from putting the matter beyond doubt.

The natives of New Caledonia are described as robust and well made, "and not in the least addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be said of any other nation in this sea." The only tame animals they had were fowls of a large breed with very bright plumage. The greater part of the surface of the country appeared to consist of rocky hills, and bore a great resemblance to New South Wales; many of the trees were identical with those seen in the latter country. Having left a sow and boar on shore, where they hoped they would be permitted to breed, and having marked a tree near the watering-place with the name of the ship and the date, they took leave of their friends and sailed to the south, being off the Isle of Pines on 19th September. The ship was now in most dangerous waters, full of rocks with deep water close round them, and Cook says that their safety was entirely due to the splendid manner in which the watch was kept and the brisk way in which the ship was handled. On the mainland Mr Forster noted "innumerable columnar forms of a considerable height, which we distinguished by the help of our glasses," and he put them down as of basaltic formation, being very proud of his discovery. However, on closer examination these formations proved to be trees of the Pine family, some of them on Botany Island being afterwards cut down for use as spars, and Cook indulges in a good-natured laugh at the expense of "our philosophers." They were not able to land on the Island of Pines, but for all that, by some unknown means, Mr Hodges was able to paint a picture of the interior of that island—at least one is published under that description in Cook's Voyages. The constant risks

which the ship was running and the consequent waste of valuable time caused Cook, much against his wish, to leave without further examination. On 10th October Norfolk Island was discovered and a landing was effected, but no signs of inhabitants were seen. A good supply of fish, a few birds, and some cabbage palms were obtained, which made a welcome addition to the larder. Many of the trees and plants were found to be identical with those of New Zealand.

Mount Egmont was sighted on the 17th, and the next day they anchored safely in Queen Charlotte's Sound, when the first thing done was to look for the bottle that had been left for the *Adventure*. It was not to be found, and there was nothing to show by whom it had been removed; but the next day they found a place where trees had been cut down with axes and saws, and where an observatory had been set up, and came to the conclusion that their consort had been there since their last visit. They soon after ascertained from the natives (who at first were very shy, but who as soon as they saw Cook were delighted, "jumping and skipping about like madmen") that the *Adventure* had come in soon after the departure of the *Resolution* and had stayed two or three weeks. A story was also told that a short time before the return of Cook a ship had been lost on the north side of the straits, and some of the people got ashore, but having had their clothes stolen by the inhabitants, they shot some of them, and then, when their ammunition was exhausted, the natives closed in and killed them all. Cook could find no proof of the truth of this story, and was inclined to believe that his informants had misunderstood what had been said to them. A fresh series of observations was made, and Cook found that in his first chart he had placed the South Island some 40′ too far to the east, and had made the distance between Queen Charlotte's Sound and Cape Palliser 10′ nearer to each other than

they should have been. In this connection he speaks in the very highest terms of the anxiety of Mr Wales to have everything as accurate as possible.

Having refitted and refreshed the crew with a course of vegetable diet in the form of scurvy grass and wild celery, the gardens that had been made were found to have been entirely neglected by the natives, but some of the seeds had done well—the *Resolution* left the Sound on 11th November at daybreak, to cross the South Pacific in latitude 54° or 55°. The course Cook laid down was thoroughly carried out, and he convinced himself that there was no possibility of meeting with any undiscovered land in that portion of the ocean. He therefore stood for the western entrance of Magellan's Straits, sighting Cape Descada on 17th December. The coast was followed round to Christmas Sound, where they anchored on 20th December, surveys being made as fully as circumstances would permit. The country to the South of Cape Desolation consisted chiefly of rocky mountains without a sign of vegetation, and Cook says it was "the most desolate and barren country I ever saw." In Christmas Sound, however, they were more fortunate, as they were able to get a good supply of wood and water, and the day before Christmas a party went out shooting and obtained a large number of geese, which were an agreeable addition to the Christmas dinner, which otherwise would have been restricted to salt beef and pork; the last of the fish salted in New Zealand having been eaten shortly before arriving off the coast of Terra del Fuego. Another very welcome addition was wild celery, which was found growing in great profusion.

On 22nd December one of the marines disappeared, and, as he was last seen in the head of the ship during the night, it was concluded that he had accidentally fallen overboard unheard. During their stay in the Sound they were visited by some of the natives who were

described as being "a little, ugly, half-starved, beardless race. I saw not a tall person amongst them." They were on board on Christmas Day, but retired before dinner, and Cook thinks no one asked any of them to stay, as the scent of the dirt and train oil they carried about with them was

"enough to spoil the appetite of any European, and that would have been a real disappointment, as we had not experienced such fare for some time. Roast and boiled geese, goose-pie, etc., was a treat little known to us; and we had yet some Madeira wine left, which was the only article of our provision which was mended by keeping, so that our friends in England did not perhaps celebrate Christmas more cheerfully than we did."

The natives had European knives, cloth, handkerchiefs, etc., in their possession, proving that this was not the first time they had been in communication with white men. Forster says they had canoes, which could not have been made in the neighbourhood, as there was no timber growing near of sufficient size.

On 28th December the anchor was weighed, and following down the deeply indented coast, they passed Cape Horn at half-past seven the next day. Cook recognised it again as the point he had seen in 1769, but which he had been unable to verify as the most southern point of America, owing to the bad weather. He now made its longitude to be 68° 13′ W., a little further to the west than it should be. After passing the Cape, Cook made for Success Bay in hopes that he might find some news of the *Adventure*. On his arrival Mr Pickersgill was sent ashore, where he was well received by the natives, but was not able to learn anything about the missing consort, so, as soon as he returned, sail was made for Staten Island, as Cook was not satisfied with the position he had assigned to it in his chart of the first voyage, and desired to take

further observations. The weather turned out foggy and unpropitious, but for all that, they were able to sail along the north coast and obtain valuable information.

On 1st January 1775 they landed on one of the small islands and obtained a supply of birds and seals, the young of the latter proving very palatable, but the old ones were far too rank for use as food. Mr Gilbert went off in a boat to look for a good anchorage near the mainland, and soon returned reporting that there was a fine sheltered harbour with sandy bottom and a fair supply of wood and water, so the ship was taken in and the place received the name of New Year Harbour. The weather turned out very unfavourable for surveying, so Cook gave up the idea, but not before he and his officers had come to the conclusion that the coasts of Terra del Fuego and Staten Island were not as dangerous to navigation as they had been represented to be by previous explorers.

On 3rd January they left New Year Harbour for the south-east in order to verify the position of the extensive coast-line laid down on Dalrymple's chart, in which was placed the Gulf of Sebastian, which Cook thought did not exist. On 6th January, being then in latitude 58° 9′ S., longitude 53° 14′ W., the position in which Dalrymple had placed the south-west point of the Gulf, and seeing no signs whatever of the neighbourhood of land, they bore up to the north in the hopes of meeting with the land discovered by La Roche in 1675. On the morning of the 14th Georgia Island was sighted, but at first mistaken for ice, as it was entirely covered with snow, a matter of some surprise, as it was now the height of the southern summer. The ship ran in between Georgia and Willis Islands, and on the 17th a landing was effected, and the country taken possession of in the King's name. Cook did not think it worth while to take the ship into

Possession Bay, as he did not believe that "any one would ever be benefited by the discovery." There was no vegetation, except a few mosses and a kind of coarse grass, but plenty of seals and birds were obtained, acceptable substitutes for salt meat, of which Cook says he was so tired that anything fresh was palatable.

The weather was very bad up till the 25th, when they were at last able to get to the south again till the 60th parallel was reached, when, being "tired of these high southern latitudes where nothing was to be found but ice and thick fogs," he made to the east. A long hollow swell coming up from the west convinced him that he was correct in concluding that the land and Gulf of St Sebastian did not exist. On the 28th they were again amongst the ice, and wasted much valuable time in trying to keep clear. Two large islands were sighted on the 30th, but, owing to the ice and fog, they could make but little of them. The next morning they were more fortunate and had a good view of one island some three or four miles off. Three rocky peaked islets were seen to the northward, and the largest was named "Freezeland Peak, after the man who first discovered it" (S. Freesland, A.B.). Behind these rocks was an elevated coast of considerable extent, the most southern of which Cook named Southern Thule, as he believed it to be the land furthest south of any yet discovered; the position of the ship being then 59° 13′ 30″ S., 27° 45′ W. Further to the north again more land was seen, but it was thought to be running into needless danger to venture any closer in.

During the early part of February they ran down to the eastward between the parallels of 58° and 59° S. amidst heavy seas and constant snowstorms, the ship having to be frequently thrown up into the wind to shake the snow out of her sails or she could not have carried the weight. Another attempt was made to find the elusive Cape Circumcision, and then on 23rd

February her head was turned in the direction of the Cape of Good Hope. Cook had now completed the circumnavigation of the globe in the high southern latitudes, and had solved the problem of the non-existence of any southern continent except in close proximity to the South Pole. He firmly believed that such a continent did exist in the far south, and thought that probably it extended further towards the north in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans than anywhere else. These opinions he founded on his observations of the movements of the icefields. At the same time he asserted that further explorations to the south would be of very little service to the science of navigation, and the knowledge gained would not be worth the cost and the danger that must necessarily be incurred in its pursuit.

On 16th March two Dutch ships were sighted steering to the west, and Cook, naturally anxious to have some European news after such a long absence from civilisation, sent off a boat to the nearest. On his return the officer who was in charge reported that the ship was the *Bownkirke Polder*, Captain Bosch, from Bengal. They were offered supplies of sugar, arrack, or anything else that he had, notwithstanding that his own supplies were not very large, as he had been some time out from his port of departure. Some English sailors who were on board reported that the *Adventure* had been at the Cape of Good Hope some twelve months previously, and had given an account of the massacre of a boat's crew at New Zealand. Whilst waiting for the return of this boat a slight breeze sprang up, bringing with it three more sail, one of which proved to be on her way to England, and did not intend touching at the Cape. Her commander, Captain Broadley, furnished them with some fresh provisions, tea, etc., and a packet of old newspapers, and confirmed the report about the *Adventure*. Cook took advantage

of the opportunity thus afforded to forward a letter to the Admiralty.

On the 18th land was seen, and on the 22nd they came to an anchor in Table Bay, saluting the Dutch flag with thirteen guns, which salute was immediately returned, and the following morning Cook waited on the Governor, who did everything in his power to assist him, and make the stay of the ship agreeable.

The first care was to provide fresh food for the crew, and Cook was greatly pleased to be able to report that he had only three men whom it was necessary to send ashore on account of sickness. The remainder were given as much leave as the refitting of the ship would allow. The rigging had naturally suffered very severely, and had to be replaced, but he says that notwithstanding he had sailed upwards of 20,000 leagues; his masts were in a very satisfactory condition; and that fact alone spoke well for the care and ability of his officers and men and the high qualities of his ship. The new rigging, of course, had to be purchased from the Dutch Government Stores, and, as at Batavia, he was charged a most exorbitant price for everything.

Mr Forster says that, whilst at the Cape, Cook carefully avoided having any intercourse with the Spaniards who happened to be there, but does not suggest any reason for his doing so. On the other hand, M. de Crozet, who put in on his way to Pondicherry, was very favourably impressed with his courtesy and his great qualifications as a discoverer. Cook also heard here for the first time of M. de Surville's voyage, and also that he had cleared away a mistake Cook had made in supposing that the reefs of New Caledonia extended as far as the Great Barrier Reef off the east coast of Australia.

Mr Forster purchased a quantity of wild animals and birds, many of which died before reaching England, and he roundly accused the crew of having maliciously

killed them, but Mr Wales asserts that the accusation was absolutely without any foundation. Mr Sparrman left the ship to resume his scientific researches, which he afterwards made public.

Having refitted and provisioned his ship, Cook set sail for St Helena on 27th April, arriving there on 16th May. A Mr Skottowe was Governor there at this time, and it may be that he was a relative of Cook's first patron at Ayton. On their arrival Mr Kendal's watch was found to differ by about two miles from a comparison with the observations made by Messrs Mason and Dixon at the Cape, and those of Mr Maskelyne at St Helena.

On 21st May the *Resolution* left St Helena in company with H.E.I.C.S. *Dutton*, but parted company on the 24th, as Cook wished to determine the position of Fernando de Noronho. He called at Ascension on his way and obtained a good supply of fresh turtle, arriving at Fernando de Noronho on 9th June. The position of the island was fixed as 3° 50′ S., 32° 34′ W. The Equator was crossed on the 11th in 32° 14′ W., and on 14th July the *Resolution* anchored in the Bay of Fayal in the Azores, where Mr Wales had another good opportunity of rating the watch by observation, and a fresh supply of meat and vegetables for the crew was obtained. The Azores were left on the 19th, and land was sighted near Plymouth on the 29th. On the 30th they anchored at Spithead, and Cook, Wales, Hodges, and the two Forsters immediately started for London, after having been away from England for three years and eighteen days, during which time they had lost only four of the crew. Three of these deaths had been accidental, and only one from disease—a record unprecedented in the annals of English Naval history.

The war with the American colonies was occupying the attention of the public when Cook arrived at home, but the newspapers found time and space to publish a

few somewhat erroneous paragraphs on the subject of his voyage, notwithstanding that the general interest had been to some extent discounted by the earlier arrival of the *Adventure*.

The *St James's Chronicle* of 1st August 1775 said:

"Yesterday Morning an Express arrived at the Admiralty Office with an account of the *Endeavour Bark* (*sic*) Captain Cook, being safe arrived off Portsmouth from the South Seas, after a fine short passage from St Helena. Among Captain Cook's discoveries, it is said, he has found an island in the South Seas, that is 160 miles long, and 146 broad, the climate delightful, and the soil of the most luxuriant fertility, sugar cane, cocoa trees, cinnamon, and nutmegs among the spontaneous growth. The natives are not numerous, but of a mild and civilised disposition. From the Captain's account of it, it is thought the most eligible place for establishing a settlement of any yet discovered."

The *Morning Post*, 11th August, says:

"We hear from good authority that Captain Cook, who lately arrived in the river from the South Seas in His Majesty's Ship *The Endeavour* (*sic*) has discovered an island of vast extent and well wooded, in the Great Pacific Ocean, between Juan Fernandez and the continent of China. The island, it is said, is inhabited by a race of people as singular in their manners as they are whimsical in their appearance. As the greatest secrecy is observed and every precaution used to prevent the particulars from transpiring before they are laid before the Lords of the Admiralty, nothing further can yet be known, however, it seems to be the prevailing opinion that the proper latitude has not been discovered for facilitating the passage to the East Indies so much wished for, a doubt cannot remain of the possibility of the discovery, as, but some few years ago, some state exiles made their escape from the Deserts of Siberia in a vessel they seized, and without the smallest knowledge of Astronomy or Navigation, got safe to Japan and came through the Straits of Magellan to some of our settlements and from thence to Europe."

A somewhat confusing paragraph.

The *London Chronicle*, 3rd August, announces:

"On Sunday arrived at Spithead after an agreeable voyage round the world, Captain Cook in the storeship *Resolution*. It is said they have discovered many islands in the South Seas that never were heard of before; the inhabitants of which appear to have plenty of everything."

The same paper on 8th August says:

"It is under consideration to pay the crew of the above ship double wages on account of their good behaviour, which has been represented to his Majesty in the most favourable light by their late commander, Capt. Cook. Several of the hands have already been appointed Warrant Officers by the Lords of the Admiralty."

Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle, 7th August, says:

"We hear by Capt. Cooke, who arrived in town from his long voyage round the World, that they discovered in 71° 30′ an amazing face of a perpendicular rock, with a large chain of country; but the ice was so thick, the weather so inclement, and the sea so very high that they could not land. They also called again at New Zealand where the savages treated them with civility, attention, and hospitality, and they clearly informed them of murdering their people before, and having eaten them. The reason they assigned was, because they had killed, unprovoked, some of their people."

The *Gazetteer* and *New Daily Advertiser* gravely announces on 12th August that

"Capt. Cooke will be appointed Admiral of the Blue, and command a fleet which is preparing to go out in the spring, as a reward for the discoveries he has made in his last voyage in the South Seas."

After reporting himself to their Lordships at White-

hall and to Mrs Cook at Mile End, Cook was summoned to St James's Palace on 9th August, where he had a long audience with the King and presented His Majesty with several maps and charts, and submitted some drawings to his notice, some of which were selected and ordered to be engraved for the private museum. In return the King presented Cook with his commission as Post-Captain, and appointed him to H.M.S. *Kent*. The commission bears the date 9th August, and is signed by Lord Sandwich, H. Penton, and H. Palliser.

The other promotions on account of this voyage, as obtained from the "Commissions and Warrants Book," were as follows:

Mr Tobias Furneaux to be Captain of H.M.S. *Syren*, 10th August 1775.

Mr Arthur Kempe to be Commander of H.M.S *Favourite*, Sloop, 10th August 1775.

Mr Robert Palliser Cooper to be Commander of H.M.S. *Hawke*, Sloop, 10th August 1775.

Mr Isaac Smith to be Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Weazle*, Sloop, 19th August 1775.

Mr Charles Clerke to be Commander of H.M.S. *Favourite*, Sloop, 26th August 1775.

James Gray to be Boatswain of H.M.S. *Essex*, 13th September 1775.

Wm. Ewin to be Boatswain of H.M.S. *Resolution*, 13th September 1775.

Mr Arthur Kempe to be Commander of H.M.S. *Wolf*, 18th September 1775.

James Wallis to be Carpenter of H.M.S. *Firm*, 6th October 1775.

James Cleveley to be Carpenter of H.M.S. *Resolution*, 13th November 1775.

Captain Furneaux, it was at first reported, was to return with Omai[1] to Otaheite and prosecute further explorations in the South Seas, but on 5th October he sailed for America in the *Syren*, was present at the

[1] See p. 344.

attack on New Orleans in 1777, and died four years afterwards at the early age of forty-six years.

Whilst on the subject of the promotions, it may be noted that Mr Wales was appointed Mathematical Master at Christ's Hospital, and Charles Lamb mentions him as having been a very severe man, but

"a perpetual fund of humour, a constant glee about him, heightened by an inveterate provincialism of North Country dialect, absolutely took away the sting from his severities."

Mr Forster was also received by the King at Kew, and was afterwards presented to the Queen, to whom he gave some of the birds he had purchased at the Cape of Good Hope. He also appears to have attracted the notice of other public characters of a less respectable kind, for *Lloyd's Evening Post* of 11th August says:

"On Thursday night the house of Mr John Reinhold Forster, at Paddington, who is but just returned from a three years' voyage round the world in the *Resolution*, was broke open and robbed of effects to a considerable amount. Part of the family was that night removed to a house in Percy Street, Rathbone Place."

Again the *Morning Post*, 23rd August, reports:

"Monday night, as Mr John Reynold Forster was returning from Chelsea in a post chaise, he was attacked by three highwaymen, near Bloody Bridge, who robbed him of three guineas and a watch set with diamonds."

Acting under advice from the Admiralty, Cook, on 12th August, wrote as follows to Mr Stephens:

"ADMIRALTY OFFICE,
"*12th August* 1775.

"SIR,—The death of Captain Clements, one of the captains in the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, making a vacancy there, I humbly offer myself to my Lords

Commissioners of the Admiralty as a candidate for it, presuming if I am fortunate enough to merit their Lordship's approbation, they will allow me to quit it, when either the call of my country for more active service or that my endeavours in any shape can be essential to the publick, as I would on no account be understood to withdraw from that line of service which their Lordship's goodness has raised me to, knowing myself capable of engaging in any duty which they may be pleased to commit to my charge.—I am with the greatest respect, Sir, your most humble servt.,

"JAMES COOK."

To this application Mr Stephens immediately replied:

"*12th August* 1775.

"SIR,—Having communicated to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of this date humbly offering yourself as a candidate to fill up the present vacancy of a Captain in Greenwich Hospital, but at the same time expressing your hopes that if you should be so fortunate as to merit their Lordship's approbation, they will allow you to quit that employment when either the call of your country for more active service, or that your endeavours in any shape can be essential to the public, as you wu'd on no account be understood to withdraw from that line of service which their Lordship's goodness has raised you to; I am in return to acquaint you that their Lordships have been pleased to appoint you fourth Captain in the said Hospital, and that they will agreeably to your request allow you to quit the same whenever there may be call for your more active services,—I am, Sir, etc., etc. P. S."

The actual letter of appointment, as copied from the "Commissions Book," runs as follows:

"To Captain JAMES COOK.

"Whereas we repose a Trust and Confidence in your Care, Prudence, and Vigilance; we do hereby Constitute and Appoint you Fourth Captain of His Majesty's

Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, which Place you are to take into your Charge and Execute according to the Standing Instructions during our Pleasure and you are to follow such further Orders and Directions as you shall receive from Us, the Lord High Admiral for the time being, and the Governor for the time being, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the said Hospital for the time being.—Given, etc., under the seal, etc., the 12th August 1775.

SANDWICH.
H. PENTON.
H. PALLISER."

"By etc. *P.S.*"

The salary attached to this appointment of Captain of Greenwich Hospital was £200 per annum, with a residence and certain small allowances, such as fire and light, and one shilling and twopence per diem table money.

A week after receiving this new position Cook found time to reply to a letter he had received from Mr Walker of Whitby, and he shows very distinctly that he feels as if he were placed on the shelf.

"MILE END,
"19*th August* 1775.

"DEAR SIR,—As I have not now time to draw up an account of such occurrences of the voyage as I wish to communicate to you, I can only thank you for your obliging letter and kind enquiries after me in my absence. I must however tell you that the *Resolution* was found to answer, on all occasions, even beyond my expectations, and is so little injured by the voyage that she will soon be sent out again. But I shall not command her. My fate drives me from one extreme to another; a few months ago the whole southern hemisphere was hardly big enough for me, and now I am going to be confined within the limits of Greenwich Hospital, which are far too small for an active mind like mine. I must, however, confess it is a fine retreat and a pretty income, but whether I can bring myself to like ease and retirement, time will

show. Mrs Cook joins with me in best respects to you and all your family; and believe me to be, with great esteem, Dr Sir, your most affectionate friend and humble servt. JAMES COOK."

Shortly after sending the above letter, Cook was able to write again to Mr Walker, giving a rapid sketch of the voyage. Although it is going over the old ground again, the letter is introduced here because the gratuitous sneer of Mr Forster that the published account of the voyage owed more to the editing of Canon Douglas than to the writing of Cook, has been repeated by later writers, and a careful perusal of this letter will conclusively prove that it would be difficult for any editor to improve its clear conciseness.

"MILE END, LONDON,
"*14th September* 1775.

"DEAR SIR,—I now sit down to fulfil the promise I made you in my last, which was to give you some account of my last voyage: which I am more at liberty to do, as it will be published as soon as the drawings which are to accompany it can be got engraved. I left the Cape of Good Hope on the 22nd of November 1772, and proceeded to the south till I got into the latitude of 55°, where I met with a vast field of ice, and much foggy weather, and large islets or floating mountains of ice without number. After some trouble and not a little danger, I got to the south of the field of ice; and after beating about for some time for land, in a sea strewed with ice, I, on the 17th January '73, crossed the Antarctic circle, and the same evening found it unsafe, or rather impossible, to stand further to the south for ice. We were at this time in the latitude of 67° 15′ S., longitude 40° east of Greenwich.

Seeing no signs of meeting with land in these high latitudes, I stood away to the northward to look for that which, as I was informed at the Cape of Good Hope, had lately been discovered by the French, in about the latitude of 48½° and longitude 57° or 60°, this land (if any) I did not find, probably owing to hard westerly gales I met with, which might carry me

something to the east of the situation. While I was looking for this land, the *Adventure* was separated from me; this did not hinder me from proceeding again to the south to the latitude of 61° and 62°, which was as far as the ice and prudence would allow me. I kept between this latitude and 50° without seeing any signs of land, till I thought proper to steer for N. Zealand, where I anchored in Dusky Bay on the 26th of March. This Bay is on the S.W. point of N. Zealand, and abounds with fish and wild fowl, on which we refreshed ourselves for near seven weeks, and then sailed to Queen Charlotte's Sound, where I found the *Adventure*, which had been here six weeks.

"I left this Sound on the 7th of June and proceeded with the two ships to the east, between the latitudes of 42° and 47°, till we got into the longitude of 136° W. Despairing of finding land in the high latitudes, I bore up for Otaheite, as it was now necessary for us to get into port, the *Adventure's* crew being very sickly. In our run to Otaheite we discovered, in latitude 17°, some low isles, and on the 17th of August we anchored at Otaheite, but not before we were within an ace of losing the *Resolution*. At this isle we remained 16 days, got plenty of fruit, but very little fresh pork; the people seemed not to have it to spare. I next visited Huaheine and Ulietea, where the good people of these isles gave us everything the isles produced, with a liberal and full hand, and we left them with our decks crowded with pigs and our rigging loaded with fruit. I next visited Amsterdam in latitude 21°, an island discovered by the Dutch in 1642; it is one of those happy isles on which Nature has been lavishing of her favours, and its inhabitants are a friendly, benevolent race, and readily supplied the wants of the navigator. From this isle I steered for New Zealand, and after having been some days in sight of our port, the *Adventure* was again separated from me and I saw her no more.

"After waiting something more than three weeks for her in Queen Charlotte's Sound, I put to sea and stood to the South, where I met with nothing but ice and excessive cold, bad weather. Here I spent near four months beating about between the latitudes of 48° and 68°. Once I got as high as 71° 10′, and further it was

not possible to go for ice, which lay as firm as land. Here we saw ice mountains whose summits were lost in clouds. I was now fully satisfied that there was no Southern Continent. I nevertheless resolved to spend some time longer in these seas, and, with this resolution, I stood away to the north, and on the 14th of March 1774 I found, and anchored, at Easter Island, the only land I had seen from leaving New Zealand. The people of this isle received us kindly; we got from them some sweet potatoes and fruit, which was of great service to us, as we were in great want of refreshments, particularly myself, who had but just recovered from a dangerous illness; the most of my people were, however, pretty healthy. This island lies in the latitude of 27° 6′ S., longitude 109° 52′ W., is about 12 leagues' circuit, rather barren, and without any wood or good fresh water, or even a safe road; consequently my stay was short. It does not contain many inhabitants, and we saw but few women in proportion to the men. They are a slender people, and go almost naked. At this isle are stone statues of a vast size, erected along the sea coast; we saw some 27 feet high. We judged them to be places dedicated to the dead; their shape was a rude resemblance of a man crowned with a great stone in the shape of a drum but vastly larger.

"I next visited the Marquesas, which lie in 10° South latitude, and are inhabited by a friendly and handsome race of people. Here we got plenty of fruit, and some pork, and fresh water. From the Marquesas, I steered for Otaheite, where I arrived the latter end of April. I now found this isle in the most flourishing state imaginable, and was received by the inhabitants with a hospitality altogether unknown in Europe. I remained at this and the Society Islands till the 4th of June, when I proceeded to the West, touched at Rotterdam, and discovered some small isles of little note. After this I fell in with the land discovered by Quiros and afterwards visited by Bougainville, but explored by neither. I found it to consist of a group of isles, extending from 14° to 20° South latitude. The inhabitants of these isles were far less civilized than those more to the East, and composed of three different nations, one of which was a small race with apish faces,

and used poisoned arrows. They were all warlike, and obliged us to work with our arms in hand. They seemed to be very numerous, and go almost naked; they are of a very dark colour, inclining to black, and some of them have wooly hair. The isles are fertile, and yield fruit and roots; we saw no animals but hogs and fowls; they have not so much as a name for goats, dogs, or cats, and consequently can have no knowledge of them. Some of them gave us to understand, in such a manner as admitted of little doubt, that they ate human flesh.

"After leaving these isles, I hauled away to the S.W., and on the 4th of September discovered a large island, which I called Nova Caledonia. It extends from 19° to 22½° South latitude. This country is inhabited by a friendly race; our landing in their country gave them not the least apparent uneasiness, and they suffered us to go wherever we pleased. They wear little clothing. The country is rather warm and very mountainous and rocky, consequently unfit for cultivation. All that can be cultivated is done, and is planted with yams and other roots, and some fruits. This country produceth fine timber for masts and such like purposes, which is what I have not found in any other tropical isle. The coast is beset with shoals and breakers, which in many places extend a long way out to sea, so that we ran not a little risk in exploring it, and at last were obliged to leave it unfinished.

"From Caledonia I steered for New Zealand, and in the latitude of 29° discovered a small uninhabited isle covered with fine timber. October 19th we anchored the third time in Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, where we remained three weeks. The inhabitants of this place gave us some account of some strangers having been killed by them, but we did not understand that they were part of our consort's crew till we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope. That the New Zealanders are cannibals will no longer be disputed, not only from the melancholy fate of the *Adventure's* people, and of Captain Marion and his fellow-sufferers, but from what I and my whole crew have seen with our eyes. Nevertheless, I think them a good sort of people, at least I have always found good treatment amongst them.

"After leaving New Zealand, I steered directly for Cape Horn; I put in at Terra del Fuego and Staten Land, where we met with little worthy of note. On my passage from the last-mentioned land to the Cape of Good Hope, I fell in with an isle of about 70 leagues in circuit, and situated between the latitudes of 54° and 55°, which was wholly covered with snow and ice. Again in the latitude of 59° I met with more land, the southern extent of which I did not find, so that I was not able to determine whether it was composed of isles, or was part of a large land. Some parts of it showed a surface composed of lofty mountains whose summits were lost in the clouds and everywhere covered with snow, down to the very wash of the sea, notwithstanding this was the very height of summer, or rather towards the autumn, when the weather is warmest in the southern seas. We also met with a great deal of ice in the sea, both isles and drift ice. After leaving this land, I sought in vain for Cape Circumcision, and on the 22nd of March arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in great want of stores and provisions, fresh provisions especially, which we had not tasted for a long time, except it was sea-fowls, seals, etc.

"I left the Cape on the 27th of April, touched at St Helena, Ascension, and Fayal, and arrived at Spithead the 30th of July, having lost only four men from the time of my leaving England; two were drowned, one was killed by a fall, and one died of the dropsy and a complication of other disorders, without the least mixture of scurvy.

"This, Sir, is an imperfect outline of my voyage, which I hope you will excuse, as the multiplicity of business I have now on my hands will not admit of my being more particular or accurate. Anything further you may want to know, you will always find me ready to communicate. I did expect, and was in hopes that I had put an end to all voyages of this kind to the Pacific Ocean, as we are now sure that no Southern Continent exists there, unless so near the Pole that the coast cannot be navigated for ice, and therefore not worth the discovery, but the sending home of Omai will occasion another voyage, which I expect will soon be undertaken. Mrs Cook joins me in best respects

to you and all your family, and believe me to be, with great esteem, yours most sincerely,

"JAMES COOK."

"*P.S.*—My compliments to Mr Ellerton if he is yet living."

It has been asked who was Mr Ellerton? The late Mr G. W. Waddington took the trouble to enquire closely into the matter, and has found that a Richard Ellerton is entered in the Whitby Assessment Books as being the mate of a ship, and also as occupying a house in Church Street, Whitby, as an alehouse in the years 1747 to 1753. He found many cases where mates and even masters of ships kept alehouses, and he came to the conclusion that Richard Ellerton was probably a mate on one of Messrs Walker's ships, on which Cook served with him, and that they became friends.

Soon after Cook's arrival in London, Captain Furneaux handed him his Journal containing the account of the proceedings of H.M.S. *Adventure* after the separation off the coast of New Zealand. From this Journal it appears that after being blown off the land at Table Cape in the beginning of November 1773, they again sighted the coast near Cape Palliser on the 4th, and succeeded in obtaining some fish from the natives. They were soon afterwards blown out again, and their sails and rigging suffered severely, so when the gale moderated, Furneaux put into Tolago Bay as he was short of water, and the decks were leaking badly. Here they were able to obtain wood and water and a good supply of fresh fish and vegetables from the natives, who appeared to be permanent residents, as they had large plantations of fruits, yams, etc. On the 13th the *Adventure* made another start, but was obliged to put back again till the 16th, owing to the bad weather, but even then the wind was so contrary that they were

not able to reach Queen Charlotte's Sound till the 30th, when the bottle left by Cook was at once found, and told them they had arrived just six days too late. Furneaux at once commenced to refit as rapidly as possible, but as a large quantity of the bread was found to require rebaking, they were again delayed. However, they were ready to sail by 17th December, and Mr Rowe was sent out in a boat to obtain a supply of vegetables, and the ship was to have sailed the following day. As the boat did not return Mr Burney was sent off in the launch with a party of marines to look for them. After some search the remains of some of the party were found, and they ascertained that they had been attacked and all killed, and some eaten by the natives. Portions of the remains found were identified—Mr Rowe's hand from an old injury, Thomas Hill's hand, which had been tattooed in Otaheite, the hand of the captain's servant, and the shoes of Midshipman Woodhouse. A portion of the cutter was also found. The natives who had these remains in their possession were fired on, but Mr Burney did not consider he could take any further steps, as he estimated that there were fully fifteen hundred of them near the place. Captain Furneaux did not consider that the attack had been premeditated, but thought that some sudden quarrel had arisen, and his boat's crew had been incautious. He had found the natives friendly during his stay, and both he and Cook at their previous visit had several times been at the place where the massacre occurred, and had seen nothing but some deserted huts.

On his next voyage Cook obtained from the natives their account of what happened, which was as follows: The boat's crew was at dinner, having gathered a large quantity of wild celery, when some of the natives attempted to steal some bread and fish from them, and one was caught trying to steal something from

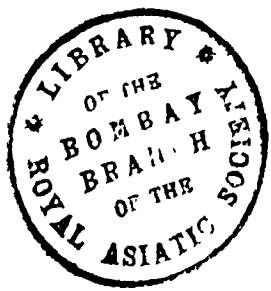
the boat, which had been left in charge of the captain's black servant. The thieves were given a thrashing, and a quarrel arose, during which two muskets were discharged and two natives shot, but whether purposely or not the informants could not say. The Maoris then closed in on the party and killed them all immediately. Mr Forster blames Mr Rowe for the whole affair. He says he was always anxious to try his hand at shooting a man, and that being in charge of the boat he had evidently taken advantage of his opportunity. The probability is that the New Zealander's story is nearer the truth than Mr Forster's surmise. The *Yorkshire Gazette* of 4th June 1887 contains a note to the effect that it had been stated that the son of a gentleman of Hull, who was a midshipman with Furneaux on the *Adventure*, had escaped the massacre, and after many wanderings had at length reached England in the year 1777. If this highly improbable story is true, it must have been Mr Woodhouse, whose shoes were found and identified, for he was the only midshipman in the boat with Mr Rowe.

On 23rd December Furneaux sailed from Queen Charlotte's Sound, but owing to contrary winds was unable to get away from the coast for some days. He then stood to the south-east till he reached 56° south latitude, when the weather turning very cold and the sea continually breaking over the ship, he thought it advisable to steer for Cape Horn, reaching the high latitude of 61° south with a favourable wind. As his stores were now running low, particularly pease and flour, he next made for the Cape of Good Hope, endeavouring on his way to find Cape Circumcision. Nothing, however, could be seen in the position given, but ice in such quantities as to make navigation very dangerous, and he came to the same conclusion as Cook had done, that either it was a very small piece of land,

or else was non-existent, and M. Bouvet had mistaken ice for land.

On 19th March he anchored in Table Bay, refitted, and sailing on 16th April for England; he anchored at Spithead on 14th July 1774.

Mr Forster says that this voyage to the South Pacific cost the sum of £25,000, but he omits the source of his information.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CHAPTER XV

1775-1776—ENGLAND

AFTER his return home Cook's time was very fully occupied in preparing his charts and Journal with a view to their publication, which had been sanctioned by the Lords of the Admiralty. At first he suffered considerable annoyance from the conduct of Mr Forster, who, immediately on his return, complained that the sum of £4,000, which had been granted to him to cover the whole of his expenses for the voyage, was inadequate, as they had been so much greater than he had expected. It seems that he had not been judicious in his purchases of curiosities from the natives of the different islands at which they had touched; in fact, Mr Wales says this was very soon noticed by the sailors, and it became a common occurrence for one of the crew to buy something for a mere trifle, and then to resell it to Mr Forster at a very considerable advance. He also engaged Mr Sparrman, at the Cape of Good Hope, at a considerable expense, to do the work which he himself undertook to do. He claimed that Lord Sandwich had promised, verbally, that he was to have the exclusive duty of writing the History of the Voyage, was to receive the whole of the profits thereof, and to be provided with permanent employment for the remainder of his life.

This last was totally denied by Lord Sandwich, and certainly does not appear to be a very reasonable arrangement for the Lords of the Admiralty to make.

After a protracted discussion, a compromise was agreed on, by which Cook was to write the portions relating to the voyage itself, together with his own observations on the events and the countries visited; whilst Mr Forster was to write a second volume, to contain his observations as a scientist. The Admiralty was to pay the expenses of preparing the engravings of charts, pictures, etc., and, on completion, the plates were to be divided equally between Cook and Forster. Cook was to proceed with his share of the work at once, and submit it to Forster for revision, and the latter was to draw up a plan of the method on which he intended to work, and forward it to Lord Sandwich for approval.

Cook proceeded to carry out his portion of the work, and furnished Forster with a large amount of manuscript, but the latter proved so difficult to deal with, and so obstinate in trying to have everything his own way, that, after he had submitted two schemes, both of an unsatisfactory nature, Lord Sandwich, in whose hands the matter had been left for settlement, forbade him to write at all, and it was decided that Cook should complete the work, and it should then be edited by the Rev. John Douglas, Canon of Windsor and afterwards Bishop of Carlisle.

Notwithstanding that he had been forbidden to write, Forster published an account of the voyage under his son's name, and the latter claims that he had started on the voyage with the intention of writing on the subject, and had taken copious notes with that purpose. In his Preface he says he wrote every word himself, unassisted by any one, except that he had the use of his father's notes. He, however, does not remember to say that a large quantity of Cook's manuscript had been in his father's possession, and he does not explain how it is that much of his book corresponds with curious exactitude with that of Cook (in many cases word for word), and how, when the papers of Cook

failed to provide him with further facts, he had to rely on would-be philosophical dissertations, which it is to be hoped were not obtained from his father's note-book. In short, the book appears to have been compiled by one person from Cook's work, and finished by a second endowed with a facile pen and a smattering of semi-scientific knowledge. Young Forster says that the appointment was given to his father owing to a piece of pique, and a spirit of revenge on the part of Lord Sandwich, and that the order forbidding him to write about the voyage was made because the father had refused to give Miss Ray, Lord Sandwich's mistress, some of the birds which he had brought home from the Cape of Good Hope to present to the Queen, and which Miss Ray had seen on board in the Thames, when she visited the ship with Lord Sandwich.

In the end the Forsters managed to forestall Cook's publication by about six weeks, and as this was after Cook's departure from England on his last voyage, Mr Wales took up the cudgels to defend the absent from the gratuitous sneers dealt out all round by the writers; and though he somewhat weakens his case by loss of temper, and shows a less facile pen than his opponents, he manages to give them a Roland for their Oliver. The Forsters infer that Cook is unreliable because he suppresses any mention of the bombardment of the Loo fort at Madeira, an event which never happened, and because he places the town of Valparaiso, where he had never been, in the position in which it was on the chart supplied to him by the Admiralty, which proved to be some 10° out. The Master who had declined to give up his cabin was, of course, never forgiven, and as for poor Mr Wales, who had been selected by the Royal Society to take observations of the Transit of Venus in Hudson's Bay in 1769, he was a man who had neither knowledge nor experience in astronomical observation. The crews of the two

ships too, carefully selected men though they were, many of whom had been out with Cook the previous voyage, were morally and physically bad, and utterly incapable of performing their duty in a proper and seamanlike manner. Some little allowance may, however, be made for the Forsters, as they were both men totally unaccustomed to sea-life; the father suffered severely with rheumatism, and the son was of a scorbutic tendency, and they doubtless felt the hardships inseparable from a voyage of discovery of such length, to a far greater extent than those who were in a measure inured to a sea-life.

Whilst the Journal was being prepared for the press, an announcement appeared that an account of the voyage was to be published by F. Newbery from the notes of one who had been on the *Resolution*, so Cook set Anderson, the gunner, to find out the author. With little difficulty he was ascertained to be Marra, the gunner's mate, who tried to desert at Otaheite, and the publication was stayed till after the authorised version was given to the public.

A considerable amount of correspondence took place between Dr Douglas and Cook, most of the letters written by the latter being preserved in the British Museum, and a few of them are given here, as they help to throw a little light on the character of the man, and also refer to the final settlement with Mr Forster.

"MILE END,
"*Thursday, 4th January* 1776.

"DEAR SIR,—I have received your obliging favour, and am very sorry it is not in my power to accept of your kind invitation to Windsor. For some time past I have been looking out for a ship to accompany the *Resolution* on her intended voyage; I expect one will be purchased to-morrow, but then I shall have to attend to the alterations, which will be necessary to be made in her. These things have retarded the copying of my

Journal; five books are done, which I shall send you by the machine to-morrow, and if you please, you may return those you have gone through by the same conveyance. I leave it entirely to you to make such alterations as you see necessary, and even to strike out any part or passage which you may think superfluous. By such time as you come to town, I hope to have the whole ready to put into your hands. I am, with great esteem, dear Sir, your obliged, humble servant.

"JAMES COOK."

"MILE END,
"*10th January* 1776.

"DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 7th, and also the Box with its contents. I have not had time to look over the corrections which you have made, but have not the least doubt but they were necessary and that I shall be perfectly satisfied with them.

"The remarks you have made on Bits of loose paper I find are very just. With respect to the amours of my people at Otaheite and other places, I think it will not be necessary to mention them at all, unless it be by way of throwing a light on the Characters or Customs of the People we are then among, and even then I would have it done in such a manner as might be unexceptionable to the nicest readers. In short, my desire is that nothing indecent may appear in the whole book, and you cannot oblige me more than by pointing out whatever may appear to you as such. I am, dear Sir, your obliged, humble servant,

"JAMES COOK."

"MILE END,
"*Friday morning, 8th March* 1776.

"DEAR SIR,—I beg your acceptance of 3 Dozen Pints of Constantia Wine, White and Red, and ½ a Dozen of a different sort which is pale coloured. I will not answer for their being packed in such a manner as to go safe to Windsor, tho' I think they will. You will herewith, receive five books more of my manuscript, having kept the remaining three as they want some alteration.—I am, dear Sir, your most obliged and most humble servt. JAMES COOK."

On 26th April he informs Dr Douglas that he had a conversation with Mr Strahan, who had been selected as publisher, and that he had promised to give "The Journal" every assistance in his power, and that Captain Campbell, F.R.S., would revise the nautical portions, and Sir Hugh Palliser would render what assistance he could.

"MILE END,
"*Sunday morning* (*probably 8th May*).

"DEAR SIR,—Last night I was favoured with your agreeable letter, and have sent my servant for the Books as you desired. I am sorry Captain Furneaux's Journal has given you so much trouble. I am in some measure in fault for not looking over the copy before it was put into your hands. If it is equally convenient to you I should be glad to put off waiting upon you till next Saturday, when I will bring the whole manuscript with me, to let you see how I have divided it into Books and Chapters. By that time I may have the introduction ready for you to look over. I may also know my Lord Sandwich's opinion on Mr Forster's work, a part of which, I am told by my friend Dr Shepherd, is in his Lordship's hands. These and some other reasons make me wish to put off our meeting till that day. On your return to Windsor you will find a letter from me requesting your permission to allow me to send you a little Madeira wine, and to know whether you would have it sent to Windsor or Half Moon Street. Without waiting for your answer, shall take the liberty to send it to the latter place to-morrow if the man who has it in charge is but in the way. Your acceptance of it will add to the many obligations conferred on, dear Sir, your very obliged and most humble servt. JAMES COOK."

"*P.S.*—This wine is part of a cask that was round in the *Resolution*. It does not turn out so good as I had a right to expect, but the Cooper tells me it will mend in the bottles. I have not tasted it since it was fined and bottled."

"MILE END,
"*11th June* 1776.

"DEAR SIR,—Yesterday Mr Strahan and I went to the Admiralty in order to meet Mr Forster to settle

about the Publication, but instead of finding him there, I found a letter from him couched in the following terms. That Lord Sandwich had thought proper to interpret the Agreement between us in such a manner as he thought did not agree with its purport, and as his Lordship on that pretence had excluded him from all participation of the Admiralty's assistance, our meeting was thereby rendered unnecessary. I afterwards saw Mr Barrington, who informed me that Mr Forster had absolutely refused to make the least alteration in his MS. What steps my Lord Sandwich will now take I cannot say but I apprehend I shall have to publish alone. I do not expect to see his Lordship till Thursday Morning and perhaps the next day I may leave town, unless I was sure of seeing you on Saturday or Sunday; in that case I would certainly wait a day or two at all events. What Mr Forster intends to do I have not heard, but I suppose he will publish as soon as possible, and if so he will get the start of me. He has quite deceived me; I never thought he would have separated himself from the Admiralty, but it cannot hurt me, and I am only sorry my Lord Sandwich has taken so much trouble to serve an undeserving man.—I am with great esteem your most obliged humble servant,

"JAMES COOK."

The remarks as to Mr Forster's conduct are unusually strong for Cook, for as a rule it is difficult to find anything, in either his Journals or the few letters that are left, to the detriment of any one. He always appears to have acted on the principle of saying nothing, unless it could be good, about any one, and his next letter shows, even with his experience of the man, that he was not willing to allow him to throw away an opportunity of reinstating himself with the Admiralty if any personal trouble could effect it.

"MILE END,
"14*th June* 1776.

"DEAR SIR,—Last night I received your favour, and as matters stand at present your meeting me in Town can be of no use, nor did I wish it, only if

business had called you up I meant to have waited for you.

"I was with my Lord Sandwich yesterday morning and found that he had not quite given up Dr Forster, but I believe he will be obliged to do it at last. I had some conversation with the Dr last night and used all the arguments I was master of to persuade him to submit to his Lordship but to no manner of purpose. The Charts are all finished, but the other plates, I am told, will not be done before Christmas. But if I am to have the whole, the Admiralty, I know, will forward them as much as possible. I have leave to remain in Town till this matter is settled, and at the desire of Lord Sandwich shall join Mr Stuart with Mr Strahan to manage the publication, etc., of my book. It is now with Sir Hugh Palliser and Capt. Campbell for them to look over the nautical part. As soon as they have done with it, it shall be put into Mr Strahan's hands. My Lord Sandwich gave me a paper concerning Omai, which I have tacked into its proper place in the 6th Book. His Lordship desired that you might see it, and also the Introduction; this shall be sent you to-morrow by the stage, and as to the other you can at any time look over it at Mr Strahan's. I shall take care to get a compleat a list of all the plates to leave with the manuscript, and have already made notes where the most of them are to be placed. I thank you for your kind wishes and hope that neither you nor my other worthy friends will be disappointed in their expectations of, Dear Sir, your very obliged and most humble servant,

"JAMES COOK."

"*P.S.*—I do not expect to leave Town till about the middle of next week so that you may expect to hear from me again."

"MILE END,
"*23rd June* 1776.

"DEAR SIR,—It is now settled that I am to publish without Mr Forster, and I have taken my measures accordingly. When Captain Campbell has looked over the MS. it will be put into the hands of Mr Strahan and Mr Stuart to be printed, and I shall hope for the

continuation of your assistance in correcting the press. I know not how to recompense you for the trouble you have had and will have in the work. I can only beg you will accept of as many copies after it is published as will serve yourself and friends, and I have given directions for you to be furnished with them. When you have done with the Introduction please send it to Mr Strahan or bring it with you when you come to Town, for there needs be no hurry about it. To-morrow morning I set out to join my ship at the Nore, and with her proceed to Plymouth, where my stay will be but short. Permit me to assure you that I shall always have a due sense of the favour you have done me, and that I am with great esteem and regard, Dear Sir, your obliged and very humble servant,

"JAMES COOK."

This was the last letter received by Dr Douglas from Cook, who did not see the result of their labours in print as it was not published for some months after his departure on his last voyage. Notwithstanding that the Forsters had endeavoured to discount its success by hurrying their work, and forestalling Cook by some weeks, it was well received by the public, and Mrs Cook reaped considerable benefit from its sale, as the whole of the profits were handed over to her.

It would appear from the headings of these letters that Cook never took up his residence at Greenwich Hospital.

On 29th February 1776, Captain James Cook, R.N., was unanimously elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and his certificate of election was signed by no less than twenty-six of the Fellows. He was formally admitted on 7th March, on which date a paper written by him, on the means he had used for the prevention and cure of scurvy, was read. That he himself valued his success in dealing with this disease, which, at that time, even in voyages of moderate length, was the most terrible danger that had to be encountered, is

plainly set forth in the following extract from the Journal of the *Resolution's* first voyage.

"But whatever may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health amongst a numerous ship's company, for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about a Southern Continent shall have ceased to engage the attention and to divide the judgment of philosophers."

During Cook's early days at sea it was no unusual thing for a man-of-war to find herself short-handed through the effects of scurvy after a cruise of only a few weeks, and in a voyage across the Atlantic as many as twenty per cent. of the crew are known to have perished. To give a few examples that occurred under Cook's own eyes: On 4th June 1756 H.M.S. *Eagle* arrived in Plymouth Sound, and Captain Palliser reported to the Admiralty that he had landed one hundred and thirty sick men, out of a complement of four hundred, and he had buried during the last month as many as twenty-two, that since his arrival in port his surgeon and four men had died, and both his surgeon's mates were very ill. The ship had only been at sea for two months cruising in the Channel and off the coast of France.

When Admiral Boscawen was leaving Halifax for the siege of Louisburg in 1758, several of his ships had to remain behind on account of scurvy, and amongst the number was H.M.S. *Pembroke*, on board of which Cook was then Master. She had lost twenty-nine men out of four hundred in crossing the Atlantic, and yet she was able to rejoin the fleet before any of

the others, as they had been in a worse plight. General Wolfe, writing to Lord George Sackville from Louisburg, says: "Some of the regiments of this army have 300 or 400 men eat up with scurvy."

Lord Colville, in a letter dated from H.M.S. *Northumberland*, Halifax, says that

"We have always been very well supplied with frozen beef from Boston which keeps our seamen healthy while they continue in port, but the scurvy never fails to pull us down in great numbers upon our going to sea in the spring."

With these experiences of his own, and the cases that were continually happening to others, before him, Cook appears to have made up his mind, as soon as he got a separate command, that it should be his duty to fight the dreaded scourge at every opportunity; and though it seems to be the popular idea that he first really and successfully turned his attention to the subject during the preparations for the second voyage, yet a very cursory examination of the voyage taken in the *Endeavour* reveals the fact that as far as the scurvy was concerned he was most marvellously successful. In proof of this, reference may be made to a report on the health of the crew during the voyage, made to the Admiralty by Mr Perry, surgeon's mate, and, after Mr Monkhouse's death, surgeon on the *Endeavour*. He states at the time they left Cape Horn that the crew were "as free from scurvy as on our sailing from Plymouth," that is, after the expiration of five months. He reports for the whole of the voyage *five cases of scurvy*, "three in Port at New Holland, and two while on the coast of New Zealand, not a man more suffered any inconvenience from this distemper." He himself was one of the five cases. This must not be taken to mean that no others discovered symptoms of scurvy, as that is far from the case, but

it must be clearly understood that such a close watch was kept and such treatment was immediately followed on the earliest indications being perceived, that only these five cases assumed sufficient gravity as to necessitate their being placed on the official sick-list, and had it not been for the most unfortunate attack of fever and dysentery at Batavia, it is highly probable that the marvellous health of the crew for the whole voyage would have been publicly recognised.

Cook attributes, in a note made at Otaheite, the health of his crew

"in a great measure to the Sour Kraute, Portable Soup and Malt: the two first were served to the people, the one on Beef Days, and the other on Banyan Days. Wort was made from the Malt and at the discretion of the surgeon, given to every man that had the least symptoms of scurvy upon him. By this means and the Care and Vigilance of Mr Monkhouse, the surgeon, this disease was prevented from getting a footing in the ship."

Writing to Mr Stephens immediately after his arrival at Batavia, Cook says: "I have not lost one man from sickness." He evidently means here, as he does in other places in his Journal, that the word "sickness" should be taken as synonymous with scurvy, and he had at that time lost only seven men: two of Mr Banks's servants from exposure to cold, three men from drowning, one, Mr Buchan, from a fit, probably apoplectic, and one from alcoholic poisoning. He arrived at home with a total loss of forty-one, the remaining thirty-four were the result of the Batavian fever, though Tupia and his boy, who are included, were most probably predisposed to the Batavian disease through the total change in their diet, and indeed it is stated that they suffered from the want of their customary vegetables and fruits. A loss of forty per cent. in a voyage of three years would compare favourably with

any returns received by the Lords of the Admiralty at a time when it would have hardly surprised them to have recorded the same rate in as many months, but when it is taken into consideration that not one of these deaths was from scurvy, Cook may surely be justified if he had claimed that he had at last broken the back of the scurvy fiend; but, apparently disappointed by the serious loss he had incurred from fever and dysentery, he was contented to rest his claims on the equally marvellous success he had on his second voyage, when he carried out practically the same treatment with an equally satisfactory result, namely, that he did not lose a single man from scurvy in a voyage of three years and eighteen days.

Of the anti-scorbutics used on the *Endeavour*, Mr Perry enumerates the following as the most important:

"Sour Kraut, Mustard, Vinegar, Wheat (whole), Inspissated Orange and Lemon juice, Saloup, Portable Soup, Sugar, Molasses, Vegetables (at all times when they could possibly be got), were some in constant, others in occasional, use."

Saloup was a decoction made either from the roots of *Orchis mascula*, a common meadow plant, or else from *Sassafras*, and was at one time sold in the streets as a drink, before the introduction of tea and coffee. Mr Perry continues:

"Cold bathing was encouraged and enforced by example. The allowance of Salt Beef and Pork was abridged from nearly the beginning of the voyage, and the usual custom of the sailors mixing the Salt Beef fat with the flour was strictly forbidden. Salt Butter and Cheese was stopped on leaving England, and throughout the voyage Raisins were issued in place of the Salt Suet: in addition to the Malt, wild Celery was collected in Terra del Fuego, and, every morning, breakfast was made from this herb, ground wheat, and portable soup."

There is in the United Service Museum, a cake of this identical portable soup, in appearance like a square of "whitish glue, which in effect it is," says Sir John Pringle, P.R.S.

With regard to the personal cleanliness of the crews, which Cook looked upon as a matter of the first importance, Marra, writing of the *Resolution's* voyage, said he was very particular,

"never suffering any to appear dirty before him, in so much that when other Commanders came on board, they could not help declaring they thought *every day* Sunday on board of Capt. Cook."

He inspected the men at least once a week, and saw with his own eyes that they had changed their clothing, and were dry. The bedding was carefully dried and aired whenever occasion offered, and the whole ship was thoroughly stove dried, as advised by Palliser and Campbell; special attention being paid to the well, into which a fire contained in an iron pot was lowered.

Fresh water was obtained whenever it was possible, for Cook lays down that "nothing contributes more to the health of seamen than having plenty of water." He was provided with a condenser, but it was unsatisfactory, only producing a very small quantity, and he looked upon it as "a useful invention, but only calculated to provide enough to preserve life without health." He attributes the losses on the *Adventure* chiefly to Captain Furneaux, in his desire to save what he considered unnecessary labour, neglecting to avail himself of every opportunity of obtaining fresh water. Cook throughout the voyage was never short of water, but Furneaux was on two or three occasions.

A Dr M'Bride recommended to the Admiralty the use of fresh wort made from malt as an anti-scorbutic, and the *Endeavour* was supplied with a quantity of malt and ordered to give it a thorough trial. The method in

which it was to be used was: the malt was to be freshly ground every day and three quarts of boiling water was to be poured on to one quart of malt and then covered up and allowed to stand for three or four hours. The liquid was then to be well strained and boiled with biscuit or dried fruit, such as can be obtained on board ship, into a "panada." The person showing symptoms of scurvy was to have at least two meals a day of this "panada," and to drink a quart or more of the fresh infusion, as it might agree with him, every twenty-four hours. This wort, thus taken, was favourably reported on, but at the same time it is remarked that so many precautions were taken in addition, that it was not possible to say which was the most successful.

Mr Banks, who was threatened with scurvy, took the wort regularly for some time, but feeling a slight inflammation in the throat, he substituted as his evening drink a weak punch made from lemon juice, to which one-fifth part of brandy had been added as a preservative, and found, he says, this treatment perfectly satisfactory. In February 1770 the malt had lost much of its strength, and the surgeon could make but little use of it, although it was quite dry and sweet. As there was still a large quantity left, Cook ordered

"as strong a wort to be made as was possible, and in it boiled ground wheat for the people's breakfast, it made a very pleasant mess, which the people were very fond of. It took, to make 22 or 24 gallons of wort, from 4 to 7 gallons of malt, according as the casks turned out good or bad. We continued this method as long as we had any left, and had great reason to think that the people received much benefit from it."

With regard to the "Sour Kraute," on which Cook set great store, he says:

"The men at first would not eat it, until I put it in practice—a method I never once knew to fail with

seamen—and this was to have some of it dressed every day for the Cabin Table, and permitted all the officers, without exception, to make use of it, and left it to the option of the men either to take as much as they pleased, or none at all; but this practice was not continued above a week before I found necessary to put every one on board to an allowance, for such are the Tempers and Disposition of seamen in general, that whatever you give them out of the common way, although it be ever so much for their good, it will not go down, and you will hear nothing but murmurings against the man that first invented it, but the moment they see their superiors set a value upon it, it becomes the finest stuff in the world, and the inventor is an honest fellow."

His paper read before the Royal Society says:

"Sour Kraute, of which we had a large quantity, is not only a wholesome vegetable food, but, in my judgement, highly anti-scorbutic, and it spoils not by keeping. A pound of this was served to each man, when at sea, twice a week, or oftener if thought necessary."

Proceeding to enumerate the articles which were found most useful as anti-scorbutic on board the *Resolution*, he says:

"Portable broth was another great article of which we had a large supply. An ounce of this to each man, or such other proportion as circumstances pointed out, was boiled in their pease, three days a week; and when we were in places where vegetables were to be got, it was boiled with them, and wheat or oatmeal every morning for breakfast; and also with pease and vegetables for dinner. It enabled us to make several nourishing and wholesome messes, and was the means of making the people eat a greater quantity of vegetables than they would otherwise have done."

"Rob of Lemon and Orange is an anti-scorbutic we were not without. The surgeon made use of it in many cases with great success." Yet Cook does not seem to

have found it so valuable as Furneaux did when so many of his crew were ill between New Zealand and Otaheite, for writing to Sir John Pringle from Plymouth, when leaving on his last voyage, he says:

"I entirely agree with you that the dearness of the Rob of Lemons and Oranges will hinder them from being furnished in large quantities. But I do not think this necessary; for, though they may assist other things, I have no great opinion of them alone. Nor have I a higher opinion of vinegar. My people had it very sparingly during the late voyage, and towards the latter part, none at all; and yet we experienced no ill effect from the want of it. The custom of washing the inside of the ship with vinegar, I seldom observed: thinking that fire and smoke answered the purpose much better."

The Royal Society Paper continues:

"Amongst the articles of victualling, we were supplied with sugar in the room of oil, and with wheat for a part of our oatmeal; and were certainly gainers by the exchange. Sugar, I apprehend, is a very good anti-scorbutic: whereas, oil (such as the navy is usually supplied with) I am of opinion has the contrary effect."

Speaking of the wort made from the malt Cook says:

"To such of the men as showed the least symptoms of scurvy and also to such as were thought to be threatened with that disorder, this was given from one to two or three pints a day each man; or in such proportion as the surgeon found necessary, which sometimes amounted to three quarts. This is, without doubt, one of the best anti-scorbutic sea medicines yet discovered; and if used in time, will, with proper attention to other things, I am persuaded, prevent the scurvy from making any great progress for a considerable while. But I am not altogether of opinion that it will cure it at sea." (Mr Forster formed the opinion that, if persevered with, it would cure scurvy.)

"But the introduction of the most salutary articles, either as provisions or medicines, will generally prove unsuccessful, unless supported by certain regulations. On this principle, many years' experience, together with some hints I had from Sir Hugh Palliser, Captains Campbell, Wallis, and other intelligent officers, enabled me to lay a plan whereby all was to be governed. The crew were at three watches, except upon some extraordinary occasions. By this means they were not so much exposed to the weather, as if they had been at watch and watch; and had generally dry clothes to shift themselves, when they happened to get wet. Care was also taken to expose them as little to wet weather as possible. Proper methods were used to keep their persons, hammocks, bedding, clothes, etc., constantly clean and dry. Equal care was taken to keep the ship clean and dry between decks. Once or twice a week she was cured with fires; and when this could not be done, she was smoked with gunpowder mixed with vinegar or water. I have used, frequently, a fire, made in an iron pot at the bottom of the well, which was of great use in purifying the air in the lower parts of the ship. To this, and to cleanliness, as well in the ship as amongst the people, too great attention cannot be paid: the least neglect occasions a putrid and disagreeable smell below, which nothing but fires will remove.

"Proper attention was paid to the ship's coppers, so that they were kept constantly clean.

"The fat which boiled out of the salt beef and pork, I never suffered to be given to the people, being of opinion that it promotes the scurvy.

"I was careful to take in water whenever it was to be got, even though we did not want it. Because I look upon fresh water from the shore, to be more wholesome than that which has been kept some time on board a ship. Of this essential article we were never at an allowance, but had always plenty for every necessary purpose. Navigators in general cannot, indeed, expect nor would they wish to meet with such advantages in this respect, as fell to my lot. The nature of our voyage carried us into very high latitudes. But the hardships and dangers inseparable from that situation, were in some degree compensated by the singular

felicity we enjoyed of extracting inexhaustible supplies of fresh water from an ocean strewed thick with ice.

"We came to few places where either the art of man, or the bounty of nature had not provided some sort of refreshment or other, either in the animal or vegetable way. It was my first care to procure whatever of any kind could be met with, by every means in my power, and to oblige our people to make use thereof, both by my example and authority; but the benefits arising from refreshments of any kind soon became so obvious that I had little occasion to recommend the one or exert the other."

On 30th November 1776, Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society, in his address to the Fellows, announced that the Council had adjudged the Copley Gold Medal for the best paper contributed during the year, to Captain Cook, R.N., and in the course of his speech produced corroborative information derived from facts which had come under his personal observation, and concluded with the following words:

"If Rome decreed the Civic Crown to him who saved the life of a single citizen, what wreaths are due to that man, who, having himself saved many, perpetuates in your Transactions the means by which Britain may now, on the most distant voyages preserve numbers of her intrepid sons, her mariners; who, braving every danger, have so liberally contributed to the fame, to the opulence, and to the Maritime Empire of this country."

Cook had been informed before leaving England on his last voyage by Sir John Pringle that it had been decided to award him the medal; it never actually came into his possession, but was presented to Mrs Cook after his departure, and is now in the British Museum.

During May 1776 Cook found time to sit for his portrait to Sir Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (afterwards Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, Bart., M.P. for East Grinstead), who was one of the leading portrait-painters

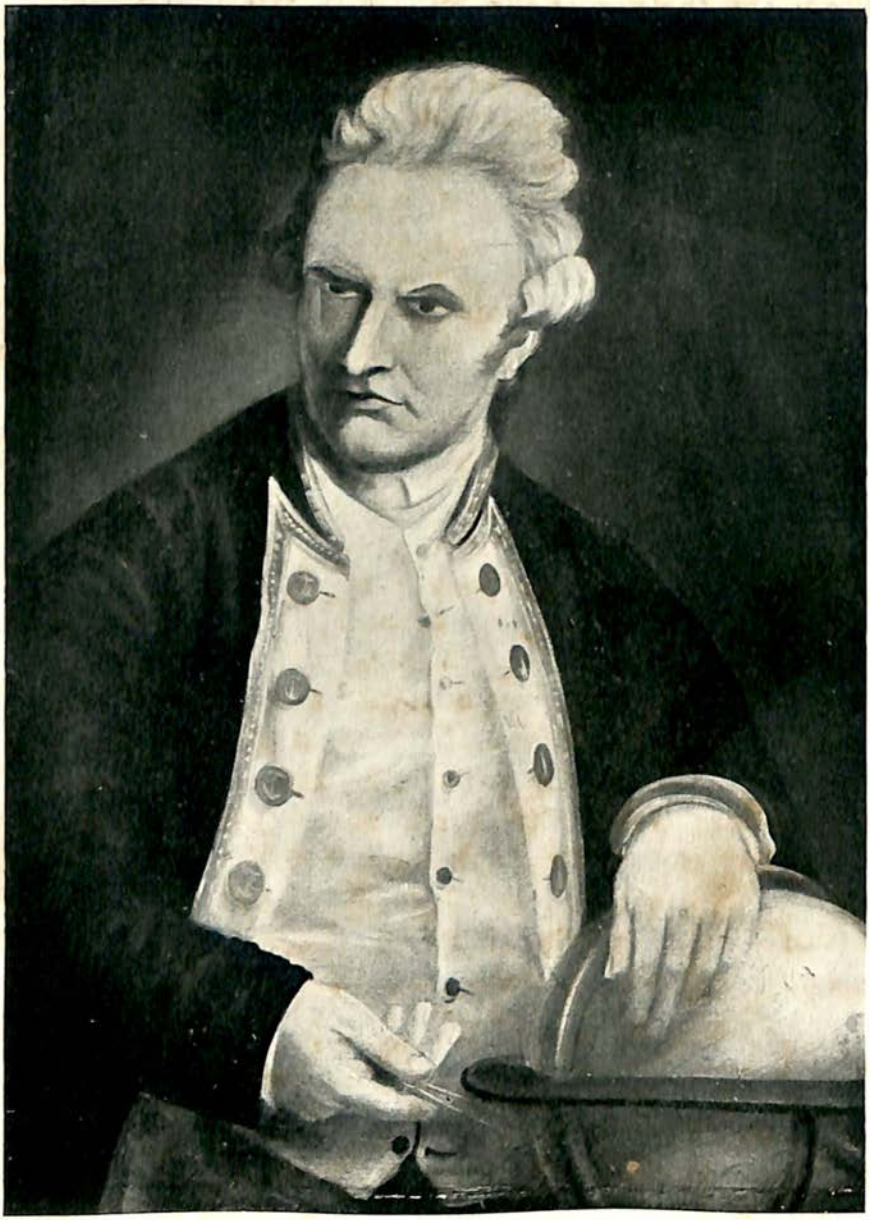
of his day. Northcote says of him: "He drew the figures well, gave a strong likeness, and certain studied air to all his portraits," and the portrait which now hangs in the Painted Hall of Greenwich Hospital conveys the impression that it was like the sitter.

Mr Samwell, who, from the length of time he was in close contact with Cook on board ship, should be an authority, says:

"It may not be amiss to observe that the plate engraved by Sherwin, after a painting by Dance, is a most excellent likeness of Captain Cook; and more to be valued, as it is the only one I have seen that bears any resemblance to him."

Cook in this portrait is represented as seated at a table on which is a chart, and is dressed in his Captain's uniform. The tall figure, not over-burdened with flesh, is in an easy position, the brown hair, unpowdered, is neatly tied back from the face, the clear complexion shows but little effect of long exposure to the sea breezes, the eyes looking out from rather prominent brows have an expression as if they could easily break out into a smile, and the whole effect of the face is to give a very pleasant impression of the man.

There are at least six other portraits in existence. One, an engraving of which is in the British Museum, was by an Italian artist, named Chisor, it represents the full-length figure of a very tall man in uniform, and is chiefly remarkable for the large G. R. embroidered on the front of the breeches. A second is by W. Hodges, who accompanied the *Resolution* on its first voyage, and of whom Sir Joshua Reynolds says: "He is a very intelligent and ingenious artist, and produced, I think, the best landskips in the last exhibition." An engraving of this portrait was published with the History of the Voyage, and the Book of Beauty style of eye with which the face has been



CAPTAIN COOK.

From a portrait in the Museum, Whitby. Artist unknown. By permission of the Council, Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society.

[*To face p.* 343.

endowed gives an impression of a weakly sentimental character, and completely destroys its value as a portrait. There are three portraits by James Webber, R.A., who was on board the *Resolution* on the last voyage: one, a half length, said to have been painted at the Cape of Good Hope, probably on the return in 1780, hangs in the National Portrait Gallery. It is very lifeless and wooden in expression, and suggests the idea of having been painted from memory or very rough studies. Of the other two, one is at Trinity House, Hull, and the other at Mr Bolckow's house, Marton Hall. They are both full length, and, unfortunately, have the same wooden-looking face as the first. Mr Bolckow's picture is probably the one which at one time hung in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, but was afterwards, on the receipt of Dance's portrait, returned to Mrs Cook in 1829. The size does not quite agree with that of the first one at Greenwich, but is slightly smaller, and shows signs of having been cut down. A sixth picture is in the Whitby Museum, but the name of the artist is unknown, and the National Portrait Gallery has recently secured a portrait said to have been specially painted for the Newfoundland Government, 1767. It is not complimentary to the sitter, and is unlike the other portraits.

Besant, who says that Webber's portrait is the best extant — surely a slip of the pen — describes Cook's personality in the following terms:

"He was, to begin with, over six feet high, thin and spare; his head was small; his forehead was broad; his hair was of a dark brown, rolled back and tied behind in the fashion of the time; his nose was long and straight; his nostrils clear and finely cut; his cheek bones were high, a feature which illustrated his Scotch descent; his eyes were brown and small, but well set, quick and piercing; his eyebrows were large and bushy, his chin was round and full; his mouth firmly set; his face long. It was an austere

face, but striking. One thinks, perhaps wrongly, that without having been told whose face this is, in the portrait, we might know it as the face of a man remarkable for patience, resolution, perseverance and indomitable courage. It is a face worthy of the navigator. Such was the appearance of the man; tall, thin, grave, even austere."

The few busts and statues that have been made were executed long after his death, and have apparently been founded on Dance's portrait. The medal struck in honour of Cook to the order of the Royal Society, a specimen of which is in the British Museum, was designed by Lewis Pingo, and bears his signature L. P. f.

At the time of the arrival of the *Resolution* in the Thames on her return, it was evident that another expedition was to be made to the South Seas, for the orders were that she was to be dismantled no further than was necessary to enable her to go into dock, and she was then to be refitted for "another voyage to foreign parts." These orders were dated 17th August, and on 8th August the *London Chronicle* had already announced that

"Lieut. Clarke is appointed to the command of the *Resolution*, which ship is to be fitted for sea, and to proceed again to prosecute their discoveries, and make a settlement on a large island in the South Sea, and to carry back Omai to Otaheite, which in the last voyage, they made their general rendezvous."

Omai was a native of Otaheite, whom Captain Furneaux had brought home in the *Adventure*. He was received by the king, and made much of in Society, when he appears to have conducted himself fairly well. His portrait was painted by Sir J. Reynolds, Sir N. Dance, and Mr W. Hodges, and on leaving England on his return, received many useful and some valuable presents.

When this further expedition was decided on there was some considerable difficulty as to who was to be given the command, for it was felt that although Cook was universally considered to be most fitted for the position, yet, by his previous services he had thoroughly earned a right to the enjoyment of his position as Captain of Greenwich Hospital, and the Lords of the Admiralty did not think that they would be justified in ordering him on another lengthened voyage after such a short interval. That he was consulted about the preparations is certain, for in a letter to Dr Douglas, already quoted, he says:

"For some time past I have been looking out for a ship to accompany the *Resolution* on her intended voyage; I expect one will be purchased tomorrow," (January 5th 1776) "but then I shall have to attend to the alterations which will be necessary to be made in her."

Early in February 1776 he was invited to dine with Lord Sandwich, to meet Sir Hugh Palliser and Mr Stephens, when the subject of the proposed expedition was thoroughly discussed and the difficulty of finding a fitting commander was brought forward. After some conversation, it is stated, Cook jumped up and declared that he would go, and as the result of this resolve he called at the Admiralty Office on 10th February and wrote the following:

"SIR,—Having understood that their Lordships have ordered two ships to be fitted out for the purpose of making further discoveries in the Pacific Ocean, I take the liberty, as their Lordships when they were pleased to appoint me a Captain in Greenwich Hospital were at the same time pleased also to say it should not be in prejudice to any future offer which I might make of my service, to submit myself to their directions if they think fit to appoint me to the Command on the said intended voyage; relying, if they condescend to accept this offer,

they will on my return either restore me to my appointment in the Hospital or procure for me such other mark of the Royal Favour as their Lordships, upon the review of my past services shall think me deserving of.—I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"JAMES COOK."

"To GEORGE JACKSON, Esq."

The reply to this application was immediate.

"*10th February* 1776.

"SIR,—Having read to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your Letter of this day, wherein you make an offer of your service to command the ship which their Lordships have appointed to proceed on further Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean, relying, if they are pleased to accept your said offer, that you shall upon your return be restored to your appointment in Greenwich Hospital or have such other mark of the Royal Favour as their Lordships shall think you deserving of. In return I am directed by their Lordships to acquaint you that they have appointed you to the *Resolution* which is intended to be employed as aforementioned and that they will on your return from the Voyage reappoint you to the Hospital; or, if that cannot with propriety be effected, they will recommend you to His Majesty for some other mark of his Royal Favour.—I am, etc., etc.,

"GEORGE JACKSON, D.S."

"Captn. COOK, Greenwich Hospital."

That same day Cook proceeded to Deptford, where the *Resolution* was being refitted at a cost of £2,655, hoisted his pendant, and at once began to enter men. The complement was to be the same as last voyage—one hundred and twelve men, including twenty marines. The "Quarter Bill," preserved in the Records Office, shows the stations and duties of each of the crew, and in case of necessity the positions of the civilians, who were expected to take their places as small arms men.

The *Discovery* had been purchased into the Navy, to act as consort to the *Resolution* at a cost of £2,450, from Mr W. Herbert of Scarborough. She was built by Messrs Langborne of Whitby in 1774, and was, according to the Admiralty Records, of 229 tons burthen; but Cook gives her as 300 tons. Mr James Burney says that the two ships were splendid company as regards their sailing qualities, but he thinks any advantage there was lay with the *Discovery*. The command of this ship was given to Mr Charles Clerke, Master's Mate and then Third Lieutenant on the *Endeavour*, and Second Lieutenant in the previous voyage of the *Resolution*.

As soon as affairs were definitely arranged Cook wrote to inform Mr Walker.

"MILE END,
"14*th February* 1776.

"DEAR SIR,—I should have answered your last favour sooner but waited to know whether I should go to Greenwich Hospital or the South Sea. The latter is now fixed upon. I expect to be ready to sail about the latter end of April with my old ship, the *Resolution*, and the *Discovery*, the ship lately purchased of Mr Herbert. I know not what your opinion may be on this step I have taken. It is certain I have quitted an easy retirement for an active, perhaps dangerous voyage. My present disposition is more favourable to the latter than the former, and I embark on as fair a prospect as I can wish. If I am fortunate enough to get safe home, there is no doubt but it will be greatly to my advantage.

"My best respects to all your family, and if any of them come this way I shall be glad to see them at Mile End where they will meet with a hearty welcome from, Dear Sir, your most sincere friend and humble servant, JAMES COOK."

The next entry in the Journal is dated

"10th March, Sunday: The *Resolution* was hauled out of Dock into the River where we compleated her

Rigging and took on board the necessary Stores and Provisions for the Voyage which was as much as we could stow and the best of every kind that could be got."

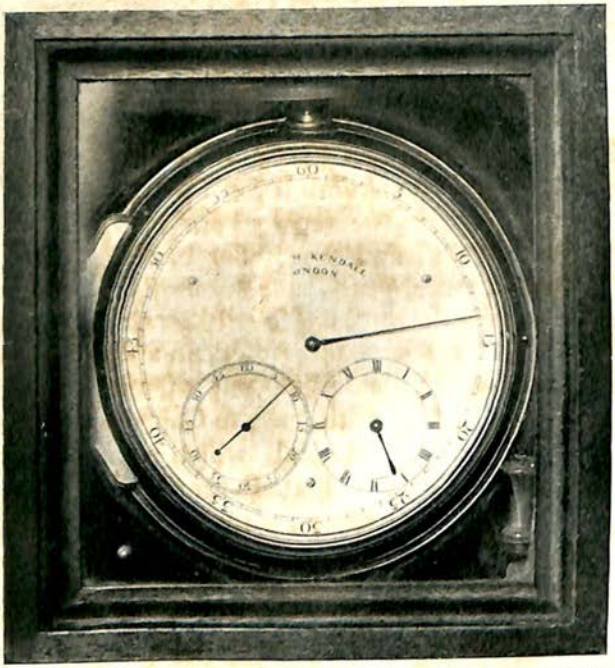
On 6th May the pilot went on board to take her down to Longreach, where she was to ship her guns, powder, and other ordnance stores; but the wind was so contrary that they did not reach there till the 30th of the month.

"Saturday, 8th June: The Earl of Sandwich, Sir Hugh Palliser and others of the Board of Admiralty paid us the last mark of the extraordinary attention they had all along paid to this equipment, by coming on board to see that everything was compleated to their desire and to the satisfaction of all who were to embark in the voyage. They and several other noblemen and gentlemen honoured me with their Company at dinner and were saluted with 17 guns and 3 cheers at their coming on board and also on going ashore."

On 10th June they received on board a bull, two cows with their calves, and some sheep, and a plentiful supply of hay and corn for their food, being a present from King George to the people of Otaheite in hopes that they would form the start of stock for that island. A good supply of "trade" was also shipped, such as previous experience had taught would be acceptable, and the Admiralty provided an additional supply of warm clothing suitable for the cold climates that would have to be encountered,

"and nothing was wanting that was thought conducive to either conveniency or health, such was the extraordinary care taken by those at the head of the Naval Departments."

The duty of taking and recording the astronomical observations, instead of being in the hands of a specially appointed official, was left entirely in the hands of Cook



CHRONOMETER USED ON THE *RESOLUTION*, AND AFTERWARDS ON THE *BOUNTY*.

Now in the Museum of the United Service Institute.

COOK'S HANGER OR SWORD.

Now in the United Service Museum. By permission of the Council.

[*To face p.* 349.

and King on the *Resolution*, and they were provided by the Board of Longitude with a carefully selected supply of such instruments as were required, including the same "watch machine that was out with me last voyage." This instrument, made by Kendal from Harrison's design, had given full satisfaction whilst in charge of Mr Wales, and had greatly assisted in procuring for Harrison the Government reward of £10,000 for a reliable timekeeper. After the termination of this voyage of the *Resolution*, it was given into the charge of Bligh of the *Bounty*. After the mutiny it was sold by Adams to an American named Mayo Fletcher in 1808, who again sold it in Chili. It was purchased by Captain, afterwards Admiral Sir Thomas, Herbert for the sum of £52, 10s., was repaired and rated at Valparaiso, taken to China, and then, after having kept a fair rate for about three years, was brought to England in 1843, and is now in the United Service Museum. It is stated in the log of the American ship *Topaz*, of Boston; Folgar, Master, that one of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, named "Smith, gave to Captain Folgar a chronometer made by Kendal, which was taken from him by the Governor of Juan Fernandez." This is probably a confusion of names, and Fletcher has been inadvertently substituted for Folgar. Abiah Folgar, of Boston, was the mother of Benjamin Franklin.

Mr Bailey, who had been in charge of the observations on board the *Adventure* during the last voyage, was again appointed to the same position on the *Discovery*, and was duly supplied with all necessary instruments by the Board of Longitude.

On 15th June the two ships sailed in company to the Nore, where the *Resolution* remained awaiting her Captain, whilst the *Discovery*, under the command of her First Lieutenant, Mr James Burney, went on to Plymouth. An anonymous writer of a journal of the

voyage, published by Newbery in 1781, who was on board the *Discovery*, says that his ship, after parting with the *Resolution*, met with very bad weather on the 18th, and having been damaged had to put into Portland. She then went on to Plymouth to be thoroughly repaired, where she was much delayed as the dockyard carpenters were very fully occupied with the fleet and transports that were about to sail for America under Admiral Amherst.

Captain Clerke of the *Discovery* was detained in London owing to his having become financially responsible for a friend who left him in the lurch, and he had been obliged to take refuge within the Liberties of the Fleet prison. He, in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, with whom he was on very friendly terms, says: "The Jews are exasperated and determined to spare no pains to arrest me if they could once catch me out of the rules of the Bench." It would appear that it was during this time that Clerke contracted the illness which eventually resulted in his death.

CHAPTER XVI

1776-1777—THIRD VOYAGE

ON 24th June Cook joined his ship at the Nore, accompanied by Omai, and the following day left for Plymouth at noon, calling in at the Downs for two boats which had been specially built at Deal for the ship. They arrived at Plymouth on the 30th, finding the *Discovery* had only preceded them by three days. The provisions which had been consumed were replaced, a supply of port wine was taken on board, and Cook was careful that each day of their stay the crew were supplied with fresh meat.

On 8th July the final orders were received by express from London, but as Cook had assisted to draw them up they were not new to him. The object of the voyage was to find out a Northern Passage by sea from the Pacific to the Atlantic. He was to proceed by the Cape of Good Hope, calling at Madeira, Cape de Verde, or the Canaries as he thought fit, and leaving the Cape at the end of October or the beginning of November, to sail south to try and discover some islands said to have been seen by the French in latitude 48° and about the meridian of Mauritius. He was not to spend much time over this search but, touching at New Zealand if he thought proper, to proceed with Omai to either Otaheite or the Society Islands as the latter might wish, and there leave him and his property. Leaving here about the beginning of February he was to proceed at once to the North American coast in about latitude 45°, and on no account, unless compelled by stress of weather or some

unforeseen circumstance, to touch at any of the Spanish dominions, but if so compelled he was to remain as short a time as possible and to carefully avoid giving offence to any of his Catholic Majesty's subjects, and not to disturb any Europeans he might find anywhere on the coast. On arrival at New Albion he was to put into the first convenient port and refresh, and then to proceed north along the coast as far as 65°, or further if unobstructed by land or ice. He was then to search for and explore any rivers or inlets that seemed likely to lead to Hudson's or Baffin's Bays, and if he should receive information from any of the natives that such a passage did exist, he was to endeavour, either with his ships or the smaller vessels they carried for that purpose, to effect the passage, or should any other method appear more likely to be successful it was left to Cook's discretion to adopt it. If he was satisfied that there was no passage to be found he was to repair to the Port of St Peter and St Paul in Kamtschatka or any other suitable place and there winter. In the spring another effort was to be made to find a passage either to the east or west, and then the ships were to return to England. Any countries not previously visited by Europeans were to be taken possession of in the name of the king, with the consent of the inhabitants, if any, and proper marks and inscriptions recording the fact were to be erected.

A reward of £20,000 had been offered to any British merchant ship that discovered a passage between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific, and now this offer was thrown open to any ship flying the British flag, whether Royal or Mercantile, and the passage might be either east or west so long as it was north of latitude 52° N. Lieutenant Pickersgill of the *Lion Brig* was ordered on 14th May 1776 to seize any American whalers he found in Davis Straits, and then thoroughly to explore Baffin's Bay with a view of obtaining information as to the existence of any passage into the Pacific, and perhaps

being enabled to join hands with Cook. However this work was not properly carried out, and Mr Pickersgill was court-martialled in February 1777, dismissed his ship for drunkenness, and Lieutenant Young was appointed in his place.

On 9th July the marines, a picked body of men carefully selected by Colonel Bell for the voyage, were shipped, Lieutenant Molesworth Phillips in command, and on the following day the officers and men were paid up to 30th June, and the petty officers and seamen were in addition, given a further two months' advance.

Whilst detained in Plymouth, Cook wrote to Banks about some plants that were to be engraved for his book, and goes on to say:

"On my arrival here, I gave Omai three guineas which sent him on shore in high spirits; indeed he could hardly be otherwise for he is much caressed here by every person of note, and upon the whole I think he rejoices at the prospect of going home. I only wait for a wind to put to sea. Unless C. Clerke makes good haste down he will have to follow me. Sir Jno. Pringle writes me that the Council of the Royal Society have decreed me the prize medal of this year. I am obliged to you and my other good friends for this unmerited honour. Omai joins his best respects to you and Dr Solander."

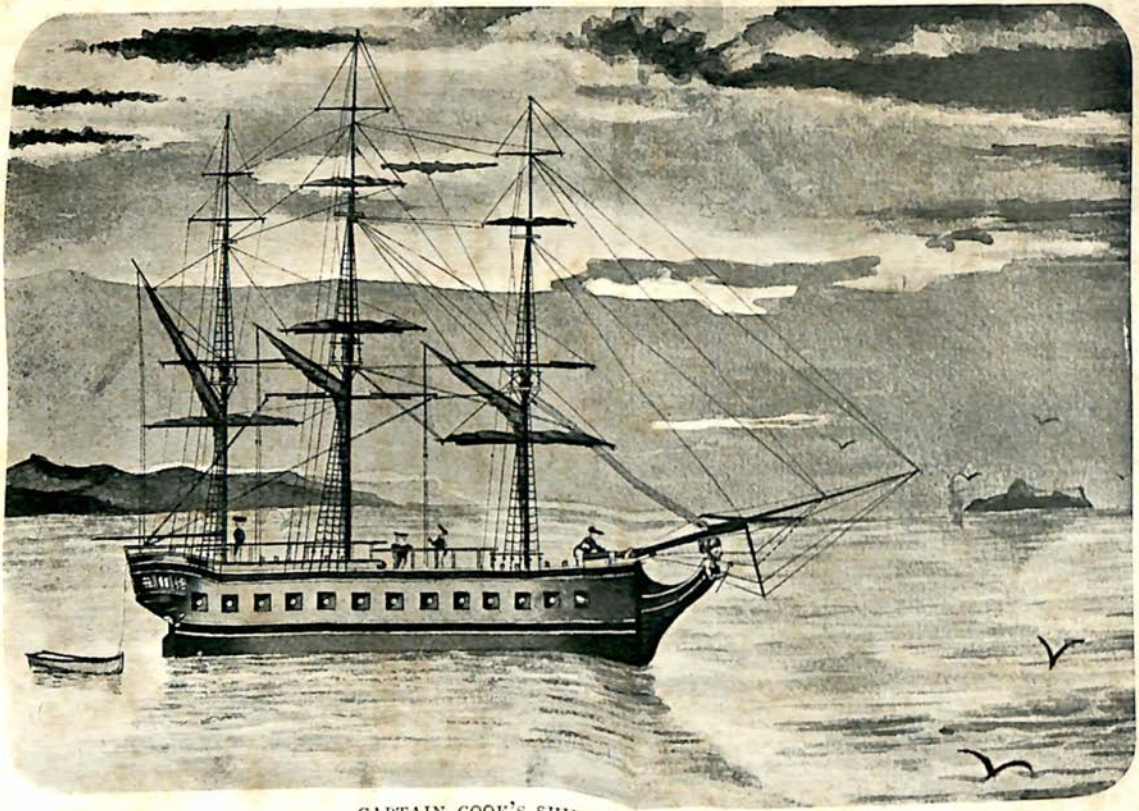
The Journal published by Newbery states that those of the crew who had been with Cook on the previous voyage, looked upon 12th July, the anniversary of the day on which they had sailed, as a lucky day, and so though the wind was not favourable, and Captain Clerke had not yet arrived, he yielded to the desire and weighed anchor, leaving the *Discovery* to follow.

As the stock of fodder did not appear sufficient to last the animals to the Cape, the ship put into Teneriffe on 1st August for a further supply, and was most courteously received by the Governor, and fresh meat,

fruit, and vegetables were procured at a moderate cost. As usual fresh water was also obtained, but the supply was rather small owing to the wooden conduits being under repair at the time. Wine was also purchased, and Cook did not think it so good as that obtained at Madeira, but he adds, "the best Teneriffe wine was sold for £12 a pipe, whereas the best Madeira is seldom under £27."

They here met "Captain Baurdat" (the Chevalier de Borda) who was engaged with a Spanish gentleman, named Varila, in making observations for the purpose of timing two "watch machines," and was afforded the opportunity of comparing them with their own.

Weighing anchor on the 4th August they were off the Island of Bonavista on the 10th, where believing themselves well clear, they hauled to the eastward to avoid some sunken rocks that lie off the south-east point, but found they had not room enough, and Cook says, "for a few minutes the situation was very alarming," but they eventually got clear. On the 16th they looked into Port Praya in hopes of finding the *Discovery* there, but being disappointed stood away southward. The day after leaving the Cape de Verde Islands they lost the north-east trades and did not pick up the south-east trades till the 30th when about 2° N., and during this time they experienced frequent rains, managing to secure enough water to fill up all their spare casks. At the same time Cook did not forget the danger of exposure to the damp and sultry weather, and was accordingly very particular as to the "drying of cloathes, airing the ship by fires and smoke" at every opportunity, with the satisfactory result that "we had practically no sick." The ship was found to be very leaky in her upper works as the great heat had opened up her seams, which had been badly caulked at first. In fact "there was hardly a man that could lie dry in his bed; the officers in the gun-room were all driven out of their



CAPTAIN COOK'S SHIP, THE *RESOLUTION*.

From a drawing in the possession of the Royal Geographical Society. Reproduced from a photo by Rischgitz.

[*To face p.* 354.

cabin by the water that came in through the sides." The sails in the sail-room were seriously damaged, and some were quite ruined before an opportunity was found for drying them.

The Equator was crossed on 1st September in longitude 27° 38′ W., and nothing further of moment occurred till 17th October, when the Cape of Good Hope was sighted, and the following day the anchor was let go in Table Bay. As soon as the usual salutes had been exchanged Cook landed to wait on the Governor and principal officials, who received him with the greatest civility and placed their resources at his disposal. Permission to land his live stock was given, a place for the observatory was granted, and tents were erected for the use of the sail-makers and coopers, and a plentiful supply of fresh meat, vegetables, and bread for the crew was at once ordered. Letters were forwarded to England by a French East Indiaman, and afterwards by the *Hampshire* East Indiaman. The last vessel also took back one invalid, and Cook afterwards wished he had sent one or two more, but at the time he was hopeful of their complete recovery.

On the evening of the 31st a heavy gale came up from the south-east, and for three days they were unable to communicate with the shore. The observatory and tents were blown away, the astronomical quadrant had a narrow escape from destruction, and the *Resolution* was the only ship in the bay that did not drag her anchors. On the 10th the *Discovery* made her appearance, having, according to Lieutenant Burney's log, sailed from Plymouth at 1 P.M. on 1st August. She sighted land about twenty-five leagues north of Table Bay on 31st October, but having then met with the full force of the gale, was blown off the coast and was unable to reach her anchorage till the above-mentioned date.

It may conveniently be noted here that, on the arrival of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* at Macao, on their

way home in 1780, they were informed that England was at war with France and the American colonies; so to preserve a record for the Admiralty in case of capture, Burney made a copy of the whole of his log on thin Chinese paper. This copy is in the British Museum, and is written on both sides of sheets of paper, folded many times, in a clear hand, but so small as almost to require a magnifying glass to decipher it. This precaution was in reality unnecessary, for on the declaration of war the French Minister, M. de Sartines, wrote the following instructions to the Navy:

"Captain Cook, who sailed from Plymouth in July 1776, on board the *Resolution*, in company with the *Discovery*, Capt. Clerke, in order to make some discoveries on the coasts, islands and seas of Japan and California, being on the point of returning to Europe, and as such discoveries are of general utility to all nations, it is the King's pleasure that Capt. Cook shall be treated as a commander of a neutral and allied power, and that all Captains of armed vessels, etc., who may meet that famous navigator, shall make him acquainted with the King's order on this behalf, but at the same time let him know that on his part he must refrain from all hostilities."

Fiske in his "American Revolution" also says:

"When Franklin was in Paris as representative of the United States he was empowered to issue Letters of Marque against the English, but in doing so, inserted an instruction that if any of the holders should fall in with vessels commanded by Captain Cook, he was to be shown every respect and be permitted to pass unattacked on account of the benefits he had conferred on mankind through his important discoveries."

The Spaniards also issued similar instructions to their fleet. A great honour to Cook, and also to the nations by whom it was conferred.

When his consort arrived at the Cape, Cook was

almost ready for sea, and so was able to render assistance in the refitting, which was found to be very considerable; but the two ships were ready to sail by the end of the month notwithstanding some provoking delays. The bread which had been ordered for the *Discovery* before her arrival was not ready to time, and the bakers blamed their shortness of flour; but Cook was convinced that they were so afraid of having it thrown on their hands they would not begin to bake till they saw her at anchor. Although Cook, acting on advice, kept his sheep close to his camp the dogs got amongst them, he believes not accidentally, four were killed, one ram so much injured that it was not expected to recover, and the rest were scattered; but after great trouble and the employment of what are described as "some of the meanest and lowest scoundrels of the place," they were all recovered except two ewes. When the live stock was at length collected they were at once embarked, and two bulls, two heifers, two horses, two mares, two rams and several ewes, goats, rabbits, and some poultry were added in the hope of being able to stock those islands "where there was a prospect that the leaving of some of them might prove useful to posterity." In fact the "Newbery" journalist, mentioned above, says that when the *Resolution* left the Cape she was so stocked with animals that she resembled Noah's Ark.

The same writer also says that the cook of one of the ships was found to have coined Dutch money, and was handed over to the authorities; but as it was not proved whether the coining had been done on board ship or on land, he was returned to his ship, flogged, and sent home in the *Hampshire*. Neither Cook nor Burney make any reference to the affair.

On 30th November Clerke received his instructions how to proceed in case of separation, and then the two captains went on board their respective ships to find them fully supplied with provisions and every necessary

for a voyage that was expected to last at least two years. Anchors were weighed in the afternoon, but owing to the light winds they did not get clear of the coast till the morning of 3rd December, and on the 6th they met with what Cook describes as "a sudden heavy squall," in which the *Resolution* lost her mizzen topmast; but this was not serious as it was a bad one, and "had often complained." They fortunately had a spare stick, but Burney says it took them three days to complete the repairs. The cold rough weather also had a bad effect on the live stock, and notwithstanding every care possible, several of the sheep and goats were lost.

On 12th December in 46° 53′ S., and 37° 46′ E., two islands about five leagues apart were sighted, but even the best glasses failed to discover either tree or shrub. They appeared to consist of barren mountains covered with snow, and with a bold rocky shore with no likely looking harbours or bays. Burney says this was the land reported by Marion du Fresne and Crozet in 1772 when on their way from the Cape to Manilla. As they were unnamed in the chart presented by Crozet to Cook, dated 1775, they were given the name of Prince Edward's Islands, and a small group further to the east was named Marion and Crozet's Islands. Then sailing southwards through fog so dense that guns had to be discharged continually to prevent separation, and Burney says, they were often for hours together unable to see twice the length of the ship, and in cold so great that though it was summer, the warm clothing provided by the Government was very acceptable, they sighted on 24th December the land that had been discovered by Kerguelen of which they were in search. When at Teneriffe the Chevalier de Borda had given Cook 48° 26′ S., 64° 57′ E. of Paris as the position of an island which Kerguelen had named Rendezvous Island; this Cook took to be a high rock which they only just weathered in the fog, to which he gave the

name Bligh's Cap, for he said: "I know nothing that can Rendezvous at it but fowls of the air, for it is certainly inaccessible to every other animal." As Cook was unaware that Kerguelen had paid two visits to the place he found some little difficulty in reconciling the descriptions he had received with what he found. It appears he touched at the spot at which Kerguelen landed on his second visit, and as the men had been kept at work on the 25th and 26th, they were given the 27th as their holiday, and in consequence the bay was named Christmas Harbour. The anchorage was very good, the bottom of dark sand, and they were well protected from the winds by islands. There was a remarkable rock near by, "pierced through so as to resemble the arch of a bridge." A good supply of water was obtained, but no wood. Fish was scarce; but they found plenty of birds and seals, affording them a supply of fresh meat. The vegetation consisted of little else but a coarse grass, found in small patches, of such a poor quality as to be hardly worth the trouble of cutting for the animals. Whilst they were inspecting the country the fog came on again so thickly that it was with great difficulty that Cook was able to find his way back to his boat.

One of the crew wandering about found a bottle in which was a parchment with the following inscription:

LUDOVICO XV GALLORUM
REGE ET D. DE BOYNES
REGI A SECRETIS AD RES
MARITIMAS ANNIS 1772 ET
1773.

This was carefully replaced, together with a silver twopenny piece of 1772, after Cook had added on the back of the parchment:

NAVES *Resolution*
ET *Discovery*
DE REGE MAGNÆ BRITANNÆ
DECEMBRIS 1776.

The neck of the bottle was sealed with a lead cap, and it was then placed in a pile of stones, in such a position that it could not escape the notice of any one visiting the spot. Cook believed this record to have been left by the captain of the *Gros Ventre*, M. de Boisgueheunen, when he took possession of the land, but this can hardly have been the case; it was more probably left by M. Rochegude, one of the officers of the *Oiseau*, who was in command of the boats sent to take possession a second time, in the name of the French king.

Leaving Christmas Harbour early on the 29th, they ran along the coast towards the south-east, naming the chief headlands and bays as they passed. Then falling in with large quantities of growing seaweed, and knowing from previous experience that this often indicated danger in the shape of rocks near the surface of the water, they looked out for an anchorage which was found just in time by the *Discovery*, as shortly afterwards it came on to blow so heavily that both ships were compelled to strike topmasts. The sky, however, remained clear, and they were able to send out the boats, the Master of the *Resolution* to survey the harbour, the Master of the *Discovery* to sound for a channel to the south, and Messrs Gore and Bailey to inspect the country. The two last reported that the coast was very rugged and indented, and even more desolate than at Christmas Harbour, and so after giving to the place the name of Port Palliser and to the land the Island of Desolation, they left on the 31st for New Zealand.

Mr Anderson, the surgeon, on whom Cook chiefly relied for natural history notes, as he had displayed great aptitude for those subjects during the previous voyage, says: "Perhaps no place hitherto discovered in either hemisphere under the same parallel of latitude affords so scanty a field for the naturalist as this barren

spot." The whole catalogue of the plants obtained, including the lichens, did not exceed sixteen or eighteen. The name of the Island of Desolation was changed to that of Kerguelen's Land at a meeting held at Sir Joseph Banks's House, when the Journal of the third voyage was being prepared for publication.

The first part of the month of January 1777 was foggy, with only an occasional glimpse of the sun; in fact Cook remarks that they "ran above 300 leagues in the dark." On the 19th a sudden squall sent the foretop-mast by the board, and it carried away with it the main topgallant mast. It took the whole day to clear away the wreckage and get up a new topmast, but the topgallant mast they were unable to replace, as they had no spare one nor any spar out of which one could be made.

On 24th January Van Diemen's Land was sighted, and on the 26th they put into Adventure Bay, where a supply of wood and water and a small quantity of poor grass for the cattle was obtained. The nets were got out and such a haul of fish was made that they broke, but enough were captured to make an important addition to their bill of fare. A stick was also obtained for a topgallant mast, and Cook describes the timber as "tough, straight, suitable for spars or even masts if any means could be found to lighten it." A few natives were seen, but did not create a very favourable impression. They received anything given to them without apparent interest; some bread was presented to them, and they were informed by signs that it was to be eaten, but they either returned it or threw it away; fish, whether cooked or raw, they also refused, but birds they would accept. One who was armed with a short pointed stick was persuaded to show its use, and threw it with a very poor aim at a mark some twenty yards away, so Omai, to show his own dexterity and the superiority of the English

weapons, fired his musket at the same object with the result that the natives all rushed away into the bush. After a time they visited the watering party, but the officer in charge being uncertain as to their intentions, fired over them and caused a second hasty retreat. Cook landed two pigs in hopes they might escape the notice of the blacks long enough for them to establish their race in the island; a hope foredoomed to disappointment.

The Marquis de Beauvoir in "A Voyage Round the World" says that in 1866 he saw at Adventure Bay an old tree, on the bark of which was cut with a knife, "Cook, 26th Jan. 1777"; this he was informed had been cut by Cook himself.

They appear to have seen no reason to doubt Furneaux's conclusion that Van Diemen's Land formed the southern portion of Australia, so no attempt was made to settle the question, and they sailed for New Zealand on 30th January, meeting with a "perfect storm" from the south, a most noticeable feature of which was the almost intolerable heat which immediately preceded the wind; the thermometer rose

"almost in an instant from about 70° to near 90°, but fell again when the wind commenced, in fact the change was so rapid that there were some on board who did not notice it."

These storms are of frequent occurrence in the summer on the south and south-eastern coasts of Australia, and are locally known by the name of "Southerly Busters."

On 4th February a marine, named G. Moody, fell overboard from the *Discovery* and was never seen again. This was the second accident of the same kind on that vessel, Corporal G. Harrison having been drowned on 24th September.

On 10th February Rocks Point, near Cape Farewell,

was sighted, and on the 12th the two ships anchored near the old berth in Queen Charlotte's Sound. A landing was at once effected, a camp selected, and preparations for watering made. They were soon visited by canoes, but only a very few of the natives would venture on board ship, though many of them remembered Cook and were recognised by him. They appeared to think that he had returned for the special purpose of taking vengeance on them for the massacre of the *Adventure's* boat's crew, but after a time they were persuaded to put aside their distrust, and flocked down to the shore, where every available piece of ground was soon occupied by their huts, the Englishmen being particularly struck by the rapidity with which these were erected. Cook describes how one party he watched selected the ground and set to work: the men, tearing up the grass and plants, erected the huts, whilst the women looked after the canoes and their few utensils, secured the provisions and firewood, whilst he himself kept the children and some of the oldest of the party out of mischief by scrambling the contents of his pockets amongst them. At the same time he noticed that however busy the men might be, they took care never to be beyond easy reach of their weapons, and on his side he always had a strong party of marines on duty, and any party working at a distance from the ship was always armed and under the command of an officer who had had experience in dealing with the natives.

A plentiful supply of fish was obtained, and some wild celery and scurvy-grass which, boiled up with wheat or pease and portable soup, made a salutary change in the bill of fare, and washed down with spruce beer, brewed on the spot and much appreciated by the men, helped to eradicate all signs of scurvy on the ships. There were at this time two men on the *Resolution's* sick-list and none on that of the *Discovery*.

Cook was much pleased to notice that his men were not greatly inclined to associate with the New Zealanders, as he always discouraged familiarity between his crews and any natives at the islands he visited, and he estimated that in the immediate neighbourhood of his camp he had at this time at least two-thirds of the inhabitants of the Sound who appeared to be chiefly attracted by the melting down of the seal blubber. He says:

"No Greenlanders can be fonder of train oil than these people; the very dregs of the casks and skimmings of the kettle they eat, but a little pure oil was a feast they seemed not often to enjoy."

One of their visitors was a man Cook calls Kahoura, who was said to have been the leader at the massacre of the *Adventure's* boat's crew. He was not a favourite with his own countrymen, who frequently expressed surprise that Cook, having him in his power, did not put him out of the way; some of them going so far as to ask for him to be killed, saying he was a very bad man. However, as every enquiry possible was made, and as all the evidence obtainable pointed to the fact that the attack was quite unpremeditated and had arisen out of a quarrel about something stolen from the boat, during which two natives had been shot, Cook decided that it was best to let matters rest. Burney says that the two men were shot by Rowe, who was the only one who had a gun with him, the others having left theirs in the boat whilst they had their dinner. He also says that the Maoris appeared to have a contempt for the visitors, either because the massacre was not avenged or because the Englishmen were too generous in their dealings.

An inspection was made of the gardens that had been established at the last visit, and in some places cabbage, onions, leeks, parsley, radishes, mustard, etc.,

were found, and the potatoes brought from the Cape had improved in quality with the change of soil, but they had been appreciated also by the natives, consequently there were but few to be obtained. The poultry and pigs that had been left were said to have run wild and prospered, so Cook was wishful to leave some more and some cows, but as he could find no one he could trust to take charge, he would not risk leaving them. Burney, on the other hand, declares that nothing could be heard of the pigs and fowls left on the previous voyage.

Omai expressed a wish to take a New Zealander with him to Otaheite and soon found one willing to volunteer. It was carefully explained to him that he would have to leave his country for good as there would be no chance of his being able to return, and in order to provide companionship and to give him a proper footing on board, a boy of nine or ten years was taken as his servant. This boy's father presented him to Cook "with far less indifference than he would have parted with his dog; the very little clothing the boy had, he took from him and left him as naked as he was born." As soon as they were well at sea, having sailed on 25th February, these two new hands grew seasick and heartily regretted the step they had taken. Cook says:

"They wept both in publick and in private, and made their lamentations in a kind of song which, so far as we could understand of it, was in praise of their country and people they should never see more. Thus they continued for many days, till their seasickness wore off and the tumult of their minds begun to subside, then fits of lamentation became less and less frequent and at length quite went off, so that their friends nor their native country were no more thought of, and were as firmly attached to us as if they had been born amongst us."

The writer of the "Newbery" Journal finds fault

with the course steered after leaving New Zealand, saying that it caused great dissatisfaction amongst the crews of the two ships, and served no exploratory purpose. He fails to have understood that Cook was equally dissatisfied, and only held the course he did in hopes that, as he neared the tropic, he would fall in with more favourable winds which his previous experiences led him to expect. Cook says:

"It was necessary I should run all risks as my proceeding to the north this year depended entirely on my making a quick passage to Otaheite or the Society Islands."

As it turned out he crossed the tropic on 27th March, some 9° further to the west than he had intended, and during the time that had elapsed nothing of any importance had occurred to break the monotony of the voyage. Burney says that each ship published a weekly paper, and on the signal being made that the copies were ready, a boat was always sent to exchange if the weather permitted. He describes Cook as a constant reader, but not a contributor, and it is greatly to be regretted that he adds, he believes none of these papers were saved.

On 29th March in 21° 57′ S., 201° 53′ E. (Burney gives 21° 54′ S., 202° 6′ E.), a small island was discovered, which Cook calls Manganouia, and describes as well wooded, bread-fruit and cocoanuts being clearly distinguished. One of the natives came on board the *Resolution* and was able to make himself understood by Omai. He said they had plenty of plantains and taro root, but no yams, hogs, nor dogs. He unfortunately fell over a goat, and was so much frightened that he could take no further interest in his surroundings, so he was put into a boat and rowed towards the land, and on arriving near the surf he sprang into the water, and swimming ashore, was quickly surrounded by his

countrymen, who kept him talking of his visit as long as they could be seen from the ships. He had pointed out two places for a landing, but Cook, who went to examine them, thought them too dangerous to attempt. He, however, was able to note the appearance of more of the natives, whom he describes as well fed and numerous, more like the New Zealanders than the Otaheitans, but their language was more closely allied to that of the latter people.

The next day land was again sighted, and as they were very short of fodder for the animals (Burney says they were so short that some had to be killed) the ships worked in towards it, and two armed boats from the *Resolution* and one from the *Discovery*, under the command of Mr Gore, were sent in to look for anchorage and a landing-place. Soon after they left the ships some canoes came out with fruit; the occupants were easily persuaded to come on board, and appeared to be under no apprehension. When they left, a canoe came off with a bunch of plaintains, a present from the king, the crew asking for Cook by name, having learnt it from Omai who had gone ashore with Gore, and an axe and piece of cloth were given in exchange, with which they returned well satisfied. Soon after, a large double canoe came off, and when alongside, one of the occupants stood up and made a speech, and then, asking for the chief, handed up to Cook a pig and some cocoanuts. They were all invited on board, and Cook was presented with a piece of matting. They were shown over the ship, and though they occasionally expressed some little surprise, nothing seemed very greatly to fix their attention. "The cows and horses they were afraid to come near, nor did they form the least conception of them; but the sheep and goats they conceived to be some strange birds." The gentleman who fell over the goat at the island they had previously visited also asked Omai if it was

not some kind of bird. Cook made these visitors such presents as he thought should prove acceptable, but they went off appearing dissatisfied. Clerke, who had also received presents, had a similar experience, and it was afterwards ascertained that what had been wanted in return was a dog, for it seemed that though they had none on the island they were quite well aware what they were.

When Mr Gore returned, he reported that he could find neither a good landing nor a suitable anchorage, but suggested that as the natives appeared kindly, they should be asked to bring supplies to the ships, especially the stems of plantains, which were found to make very good fodder for the stock. The next morning he went ashore, accompanied by Dr Anderson, Mr Burney, and Omai, and was received by a party of armed natives who conducted them with a sort of state to one chief, then to a second, and then a third, to each one of whom a present was given. When this ceremonial was over, Gore tried to arrange for trading, but was informed he must wait till the next day, when he should obtain what he wanted. A very large number of the natives had gathered round them and they were not allowed to move about much, but they received no incivility, although at times it seemed doubtful as to how matters might end. After some time they were presented with a pig and some other food, and when the fire was lighted to prepare it, Omai seems to have been rather alarmed and to have been suspicious that perhaps they were intended to serve as a repast for the islanders. He was plied with many questions, and appears in reply to have given full scope to his imagination, and Cook credits him with the fact that the party were allowed to return to the ships that night; for the natives had been most anxious for them to remain, and had placed all sorts of difficulties in the way of their going back to their boats, but Omai

demonstrated the wonderful powers of the white men by exploding a small quantity of gunpowder, and the flash, smoke, and noise proved so convincing that all opposition to their departure was withdrawn. At this island, which Cook names Wantien, latitude 20° 1′ S., longitude 201° 45′ E., Omai found some of his own countrymen who had been driven there by a storm when on a voyage from Otaheite to Ulietea, and after having endured much hardship had been so kindly received by the inhabitants, and had established themselves so comfortably, that they declined Omai's offer to try and obtain a passage back from Cook. Burney says that Omai was most useful to have on a landing party, as he was a good sportsman, a good cook, and never idle. Before the boats had left the ship on this trading effort, some canoes had come out with a pig, plantains, and cocoanuts, but refused to sell for anything except a dog. One of the officers had two that were a great nuisance on board, and Cook thought it would be an excellent opportunity to get rid of them, but the owner would not part with them. Omai, however, came to the rescue and gave up a favourite one of his own, and so the purchase was effected, and the natives departed in high glee.

After hearing Gore's report of the behaviour of these natives, Cook thought it would be unwise to run any further risks, so they sailed for a small island visible in the north-west, which was found to be uninhabited, although there were some old huts seen. Here they obtained a supply of cocoanuts, scurvy-grass, and some branches of trees of a soft spongy nature, which when cut up into short lengths were eagerly eaten by the cattle, and Cook observes: "It might be said, without impropriety, that we fed our cattle on billet wood." A hatchet and nails to the value of what had been taken were left in the deserted village.

They next proceeded to Hervey's Island, a distance of about fifteen leagues, but owing to the very light

winds they were unable to reach it till the morning of 6th April. At the time of his previous visit Cook had seen no signs of habitation, and was therefore much surprised to find several canoes put off to meet the ships. Some of the occupants were persuaded to come on board and to sell a few fish for nails, the value of which they appeared to appreciate. From what Omai could glean from them, Cook believed that they had seen the *Resolution* and *Adventure* in 1776 when they passed the island. King was sent out with two boats to inspect, and was invited to land, but as he noticed that the women were quietly bringing down spears and darts, he thought it better to decline and return to the ship.

The course was now set for the Friendly Islands and the *Discovery* was ordered to keep about a league ahead, as it would be necessary to sail by night through a sea studded with islands and reefs, and she was better able "to claw off a lee shore than mine." The water was getting rather short and

"In order to save I ordered the still to be kept at work from 6 in the morning to 4 in the afternoon, during which time we procured from 13 to 16 gallons of fresh water. There has lately been made some *improvement*, as they are pleased to call it, to this machine, which in my opinion is much for the worse."

After leaving the Palmerston Group, which they reached on 13th April, they fortunately fell in with repeated thunderstorms which enabled them to catch a good supply of water, "and finding we could get more by the rain in an hour than by the still in a month, I laid it aside as a thing attended with more trouble than profit."

At the Palmerston Group, which consists of a chain of small islets connected by a reef, and was found to be uninhabited, they obtained cocoanuts, palm cabbage, scurvy-grass, and fodder for the cattle; and a broken

paddle, part of a canoe, some pieces of plank, one of which was very thick, with "trunnell holes" in it, and a piece of the moulding from a ship's upperworks, painted yellow, with nail holes showing signs of iron rust, were also found drifted in over the reef. As all the supplies had to be carried for about half a mile along the reef with the water up to the men's waists, they were unable to get away till the 17th, when they made sail for Annamooka. On the night of the 28th they anchored off Comango, and King was sent off to obtain supplies whilst the ships slowly made their way onwards. King on his return brought with him seven pigs and some fruit, and also two chiefs, who presented Cook with another pig and gave a promise of more the next day. The anchorage proved very unsatisfactory, so as the night was dark and squally it was spent under sail, and the morning found them much further off, with the wind in their teeth, and they were all day working their way to an anchorage about four miles W.-S.-W. of the island. Here they were again visited by the two chiefs, who kept their promises as to the pigs. Acting on previous experience, Cook ordered that only certain people should be allowed to make purchases, and that no curiosities should be bought till the ships were supplied with provisions, as by that means he lessened the liability to quarrels and kept prices within a reasonable limit. He says:

"It was remarkable that during the whole day the Indians would hardly part with any one thing to anybody but me; Captain Clerke did not get above one or two hogs."

In order to get a supply of water the ships were moved to where they lay on the previous visit, and having obtained leave from the natives, "who accommodated us with a boat-house and showed us every other mark of civility," the weak cattle were landed and an observatory

and camp established, with Mr King in command. A chief named Tapan, who had shown much interest in their proceedings, had his house moved down a quarter of a mile so that he could be always near them. Abundance of wood was found round the camp, but it was what Cook calls "Manchineel," the juice from which caused painful blisters on the skin of the wood-cutters, and Burney says some of them were blind for a fortnight from its effects: but other timber was easily obtained. On 23rd April P. Woodfield, carpenter's mate, had a very bad fall and broke his leg, but the rest of the crew, says Burney, were "in good health; thank God, no appearance of scurvy."

A chief named Feenough, who had been sent for from Tongatabu, was introduced to Cook as the king of the whole Friendly Group. He was received with the utmost respect by the natives, but Cook felt suspicious, as he was not the same man he had seen on his former visit. Some of the chiefs turned out to be quite as expert at thieving as the common people, and as one was caught stealing a bolt from the spunyarn winch, Cook determined to make him an example, so he was ordered to receive a dozen lashes and pay a hog for his liberty. He remarks that afterwards

"we were not troubled with thieves of rank, their servants or slaves were employed on this dirty work, on which a flogging made no more impression than it would have done upon the main mast. Their masters, so far from making interest for them when they were caught, would very often advise us to kill them, and as this was a punishment we did not chuse to inflict, they generally escaped unpunished, because we could inflict nothing which they thought a punishment. Captain Clerke hit upon a method which had some effect, this was by shaving their heads, for though it is not a very uncommon thing to see both men and women with their heads shaved, yet its being done on this occasion was looked upon as a mark of infamy, and marked out the man."

When Feenough visited the *Resolution*, he brought with him some fish which had been cooked in cocoanut milk, and it proved so good that they had some prepared in the same manner, but though it was well appreciated, Cook remarks: "My cook did not come up to theirs."

As the supplies of fresh vegetables appeared to be running short, Cook prepared to sail to some islands to the north, where Feenough advised him that he would be able to procure a plentiful supply. They were delayed by the loss of the *Discovery's* best bower anchor, the cable of which parted when they attempted to weigh, having been worn by the coral rocks. There was considerable difficulty in recovering it, and Burney notes that by pouring oil on the water they were able to see it at a depth of seventeen fathoms. After beating about for three days they anchored between the islands Happi and Lefooga, where they were at once surrounded by canoes laden with pigs, fowls, roots, and fruits for sale, and Cook was formally introduced to the inhabitants by Feenough. He was conducted on landing to a house, which had been brought down to the beach for the purpose, and there seated with Feenough and Omai, between whom a strong friendship had sprung up; the general public remaining outside. Cook was asked how long he intended to stay, and on his replying five days, Tapan was directed to speak to the natives, and Omai said that he informed them that the visitors were to be treated as friends, their property respected, and supplies were to be taken to the ships, when they would receive due exchange. Presents were then made to several of the principal men, and water was pointed out for the use of the ships. On returning to the beach, Cook says:

"I found a baked hog and some yams, all piping hot, put up for me to take on board. I invited the chief and his friends to partake of it, they accepted my invitation and we all imbarked for the ship, but none but the chief sat down to table."

The next day Cook was again invited to the same house ashore where a large number of people were assembled. As soon as they were seated, about a hundred people came forward laden with yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoanuts, and sugar cane, which they placed in two piles on the left. Then a second lot came forward and made two similar piles on the right, to which were tied two pigs and six fowls, whilst six pigs and two turtles were added to the piles on the left. An exhibition of wrestling, boxing, and single combats with clubs made from green cocoanut boughs, then took place, one or two of the boxing contests being between girls. Cook says:

"These several contests were carried on in the midst of at least three thousand people and with the greatest good humour on all sides, though some, women as well as men, have received blows they must feel some time after."

When this show was over Feenough informed Cook that the piles of food on the right were for his friend Omai, whilst those on the left, about twice as large, were for him, and that he could take them away when he liked, for whilst they remained not so much as a cocoanut would be touched by the natives. This proved true, for he went on board leaving them behind and on sending for them after dinner nothing was missing. It required four boats to take this gift to the ships, and Cook remarks that it "far exceeded any present I had ever before received from an Indian Prince." When Feenough came on board he was given a present in return "which was so much to his satisfaction that as soon as he went ashore he made me another present consisting of 2 large pigs, a large quantity of cloth and some yams." Feenough having expressed a desire to see the marines at drill, the men from both ships were sent ashore and put through their exercise and volley

firing, and in return about a hundred of the natives entertained the visitors with a musical drill, each being armed with a sort of paddle about two feet six inches long, accompanying their movements with singing and the music of a couple of drums. Cook says:

"All their motions were performed with such justness that the whole party moved and acted as one man. It was the opinion of every one of us that such a performance would have met with universal applause on a European Theatre, and so far exceeded anything we had done to amuse them that they seemed to pique themselves in the superiority they had over us."

In return for this performance Cook ordered a display of firework, and though some of them were spoilt, there were enough good to create great astonishment and give pleasure to the natives, who were particularly taken with the sky and water rockets which "entirely turned the scale in our favour." The evening's entertainment was then brought to a close by a further display of dancing and singing by the natives.

The next morning Cook made a tour of inspection and found the island well laid out in neatly fenced plantations, highly cultivated, the crops being the usual fruits and roots, and he added to their stock some seeds of pumpkins, Indian corn, etc. When he returned on board to dinner he found a large sailing canoe made fast to the stern of his ship, and in it seated a most potent, grave and reverend signor, whom he recognised as the one he had known as king at the time of his previous visit, and whose importance of manner seemed now even greater than before. He could not be induced by any means to go on board the ship, but remained seated in his canoe till evening, when he went off to another of the islands. His name is given by Cook as Latouliboula, and he and Feenough entirely ignored each other.

On 24th May a native announced that a ship like

theirs was at anchor off Annamooka, and on being questioned closely by Cook, through Omai, his answers were so clear and satisfactory that there seemed no doubt on the matter, but a chief of some note from that island appearing just as the rumour had been accepted and declaring that no ship had been seen since the visit of the *Resolution*, the informant disappeared and was seen no more. Cook concluded that it was an attempt for some unknown reason to persuade him to leave his anchorage.

During one of his walks on shore Cook saw a woman just completing an operation on the eyes of a child. It was apparently to remove a film which had grown over the eyeballs, and the instruments used are described as

"slender wooden probes with which she had probed round the eyes so as to make them bleed; she had almost finished the operation when I went in, so that I saw but little of it."

Feenough had gone away to another island about two days' sail distant, to get some of the valuable feather caps and Cook had promised to await his return, but finding the fresh supplies beginning to run short he sailed along the reef to the south, and put into a bay at the southern end of Lafooga. On the way the *Discovery* ran on to a shoal, but managed to back off without any damage. Notwithstanding that they had a good supply of water on board, Cook went ashore to inspect some wells, as he had been informed by the natives that they contained water of a very superior quality. He says:

"This will not be the only time I shall have to remark that these people do not know what good water is. We were conducted to two wells and found the water bad in both and the natives told us they had no better."

Near these wells a large artificial mound was seen, about forty feet high and fifty feet diameter on the top, which had evidently been built for many years as large trees were growing on it. At the foot was a hewn block of coral, four feet broad, two and a half feet thick, and fourteen feet high, but the natives present said that there was only about one half of it above ground. It and the mound had been erected by their ancestors in memory of a great king, but how many years ago they had no idea.

A large sailing canoe arrived on the scene with a chief who was treated by the natives with the utmost respect, and was called by them Tattafee Polaho, and was said to be king of all the islands. Hearing that he wished to come on board, a boat was sent for him, and he came bringing as a present

"two good fat hogs, though not so fat as himself, for he was the most corporate, plump fellow we had met with. I found him to be a sedate, sensible man; he viewed the ship and the several new objects with uncommon attention, and asked several pertinent questions."

He was invited down to dinner, where "he ate little and drank less," and after receiving some return presents, he invited Cook and Omai to go on shore with him; the former accepted at once, but the latter being chagrined that there was really a greater man than his friend Feenough, excused himself. They went ashore in the Captain's boat, and before he landed, Tatafee ordered two more pigs to be put into the boat, and when that was done he was carried ashore on a sort of handbarrow. He then went to a small house near, and seating himself, invited Cook to sit near him. Then the natives who had been trading on the ships submitted for his inspection the articles they had received. He carefully enquired what each

had sold, and seemed pleased with the bargains made, and everything was returned again to its owner, excepting a red glass bowl to which he had taken a great fancy. Cook was particularly struck with the respect with which Polaho was treated, and says he had "nowhere seen the like, no not even amongst more civilised nations."

Mr Basil Thomson, who was for some years in the Pacific Islands, says that he heard that a red glass finger-bowl was given by the late King of Tonga to Mr Shirley Baker, as a relic of Captain Cook, and that he carried it off to Auckland, but that it had since been unfortunately broken. This is most probably the bowl above mentioned. Mr Thomson brought home a piece of hand-woven red cloth, now at Windsor Castle, which was presented to "Pow, an ancestor of the present King of Tonga" by Cook; "Pow" evidently being the Polaho of Cook.

During the time occupied by these visits the Masters of the two ships had been away looking for a fresh channel through the reefs to Annamooka, and Mr Bligh reported that he had found an anchorage and a fairly good channel, but not in the direction that Cook wished to take, so it was decided that it would probably save time to return on the old track. Before they left, Polaho came on board bringing one of the caps made from the red tail feathers of the bird the Sandwich Islanders call Iiwi (*Vestiaria coccinea*), and some of the red feathers of paraquets. These red feathers appeared to be greatly valued by the natives, particularly the Otaheitans, and consequently were much in demand, but were not for sale though large prices were offered, and Cook, Clerke, and Omai were the only ones to whom any were given.

On 29th May, at daybreak, they weighed anchor, and with a fine breeze stood away for Tongatabu; but the wind failed, and on the night of the 31st they were

nearly ashore on a low sandy island on which the sea was breaking heavily. Fortunately, the crew

"had just been turned up to put the ship about and the most of them at their stations, so that the necessary movements were not only executed with judgment, but with alertness, and this alone saved the ship."

Some of the natives who were on board as passengers were so alarmed that they begged to be put ashore, and were accordingly landed on one of the islands by the ship's boats. Cook confesses that he, too, was tired of beating about in these dangerous waters, and felt greatly relieved to get to his old anchorage off Annamooka on 5th June. Here he found the natives busy getting in their crops of yams, which were in very fine condition, as were the pineapples he had planted; but the water melon and other seeds that he had sown were nearly all destroyed by the ants.

Feenough here rejoined the ship, and, as he made a deep reverence as soon as he came into the presence of Polaho, and would neither eat nor drink before him, but left the cabin as soon as dinner was announced, it was very evident which of the two was the more important. He reported that he had loaded up some canoes with pigs and other supplies for the ships, but that they had been lost in the bad weather they had had. This statement seems to have been received with considerable doubt. The next day they sailed for Tongatabu accompanied by fourteen or fifteen sailing canoes, which could all easily out-distance the ships, and in crossing a flat studded with coral rocks, both ships touched, fortunately without damage. As soon as possible they anchored, and the Masters were sent off to sound, returning about 4 P.M., having found good bottom in about nine fathoms, to which anchorage the ships were moved and were at once visited by Otago, who had made himself so useful at the last visit, and

by Toobough, Captain Furneaux's great friend, each bringing a pig and some yams as presents.

On landing, Cook found the king established in a fine mat hut just within the forest, with a large open space in front, and he was informed that this would be his residence during his stay on the island. A quantity of kava was prepared in the usual fashion; but as Cook did not admire the method he handed over his share to Omai. He speaks very highly of the orderly behaviour of the natives, many of whom had never seen a white man before. He was shown some pools of fresh water, but the position was bad and the quality not good, so he made further enquiries and was told of some more on a small island near, which proved much better, and, after clearing out the holes, they were able to get a fair supply. As he proposed to stay some little time, the cattle were landed, the observatory set up, a party landed to cut wood, the sails overhauled for repairs, and a party of marines landed as guard, the whole being placed under the command of Mr King. The gunners of the two ships were appointed to superintend the trading with the natives, who brought in such plentiful supplies that Cook says:

"Our little port was like a fair, and the ships so thronged that we had hardly room to stir on the decks. Feenough had taken up his residence near us; but he was no longer the acting man; we, however, found him to be a man of consequence and property, and he still continued to make us presents of hogs, etc. As to the King, scarce a day past that I had not something considerable from him."

Several other chiefs of importance were heard of, particularly one named Mariwaggee, said to be very old, and a personage of too great importance for them to see, but after some little trouble, Cook persuaded the king to escort him to where this old chieftain resided.

They set out early, accompanied by Captain Clerke, some other officers, and Omai; and Cook describes the place they visited as

"a village, most delightfully situated on the bank of the inlet, where all or most of the great men in the island resided, each having his house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses and offices for servants, etc. These plantations were neatly fenced round, with, for the most part, only one entrance which was by a door that was generally fastened on the inside by a shore or prop of wood, so that a person has to knock before he can get admittance. Public roads and narrow lanes lay between every plantation, so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these plantations were laid out in grass-plats and planted with such things as seemed more for ornament than use; but hardly any were without the cava plant of which they make their favourite drink, and some were planted with everything the island produceth, but I observed these were not the residences of people of the first rank. There were some large houses near the public roads, unenclosed, with large smooth grass-plats before them; these, I was told, belonged to the King, they seemed common to every one, and were probably the places where they have their publick assemblies. On our first landing we were conducted to one of these houses where we seated ourselves according to the custom of the country, and in a short time had a very numerous assembly, who, very orderly, seated themselves in a semicircle before us, not one attempting to come near us unless desired."

When they arrived they were told that Mariwaggee had gone to see the ships, so they returned after a short stay, but found that the old man had never been near, and concluded that Omai acting as interpreter had misunderstood what had been said to him. However, the next day, the old chief accompanied by a large number of both sexes put in an appearance on the shore. Cook at once landed and found him seated with another old chief, and their companions, round

a very large piece of cloth. He had only brought presents with him for one man, so under the circumstances had to divide them between the two, and was very pleased to find that they both appeared satisfied, and the piece of cloth and some cocoanuts were presented to him.

During their stay the king went on board the *Resolution* every day to dinner, which was very acceptable, as his presence excluded all the other natives from the table, and very few of them remained in the cabin, whilst if neither he nor Feenough had been there, Cook says he "could never sit down to dinner with any satisfaction." He thinks Polaho was attracted by the wine, "for he loved a glass of wine and could drink his bottle as well as most men, and was as cheerful over it."

One day Toobough sent for Cook, who went ashore to him and found him "like an old Patriarch, seated under the shade of a tree." He presented him with a large piece of cloth, some of the valuable red feathers, and about a dozen cocoanuts, and as Cook had come ashore unprovided with anything to give in return he was invited on board ship. Before they started, however, a message came from Polaho's son that he wished to see Cook, who at once went to the place designated, where the youth was found seated on a large piece of cloth under the shade of a cloth canopy with a large boar and a heap of cocoanuts near at hand. Omai, acting as interpreter, informed Cook that the king wished his son to be included in their friendship, and hoped that his present would be received. It was accepted, and the chiefs were invited to dine on board:

"The young prince, Mariwaggee, Toobough, and Feenough, they were accompanied by three or four inferior chiefs, and two respectable old ladies of the first rank."

Mariwaggee was dressed in a large new piece of cloth, decorated with six pretty large patches of red feathers; it appeared to have been made for the occasion, and as soon as he arrived on board he took it off, and presented it to Cook, who then made return presents to all, and showed them round the ship, but they could not be persuaded to sit down to dinner nor touch any food as everything of that kind had for some reason been made Tapu.

Mariwaggee, who it was ascertained was the father of Feenough and the father-in-law of the king, gave an entertainment of dancing and singing to the officers, which commenced about eleven in the morning, and lasted till between three and four in the afternoon. When it was over two piles of yams, each pair of roots tied to a stick about six feet long and decorated with fish, were presented to Cook and Clerke. Cook says it was hard to determine which were the most useful, the yams for food or the sticks for fuel, but "as to the fish, it might serve to please the sight, but was very offensive to the smell, as some of it had been kept two or three days for this occasion." More singing and dancing took place in the evening and Cook comments favourably on the conduct of the people generally, though some few plundered in a most daring and insolent manner; he estimates that there were not less than ten to twelve thousand present. In return for this entertainment a review of the marines was ordered, and a display of fireworks given, which "astonished and highly entertained" the natives.

As Cook was afraid that some of his live stock might be stolen, he sought to make interest on their behalf by presenting some to the principal chiefs, so he gave a bull and cow to Polaho, and also some goats, which he had intended for Toobough, who did not attend at the distribution. To Mariwaggee he gave a ram and two ewes, and to Feenough a horse and mare, but

notwithstanding these presents some one was not satisfied, and a kid and two turkey cocks were stolen. Thefts had been very frequent and daring. One day at noon some of the natives nearly succeeded in stealing one of the anchors of the *Discovery*, and were only prevented by getting the fluke so firmly fixed in one of the chain plates that it could only be freed by the use of a tackle. Cook now determined that these depredations must be put an end to, and he therefore seized three canoes, and finding that the king, Feenough, and some other chiefs were in a house, he placed a guard over them and informed them they were prisoners until the stolen goods were returned, but they did not seem much affected by the news, and went on drinking Kava, giving Cook an assurance that everything would be returned. An axe and an iron wedge were very soon produced, and Cook invited his prisoners on board to dinner. On their return to land, the kid and one turkey were returned, and the other one promised the next day, so the prisoners and canoes were released. At one time a small hostile demonstration had been made by the natives, but the landing of a few marines and an order from the king soon put an end to it.

The following day the king went on board the *Resolution* with an invitation for another entertainment to be given that day, and it was evident that it was to be something out of the ordinary, as he had already commenced his preparations in the shape of personal adornment, having plastered his hair with some red pigment which gave him a decidedly peculiar appearance. After breakfast they went ashore and found the natives busy erecting two sets of poles, one on each side of the place that had been appointed for the guests. Each set of poles consisted of four placed in a square about two feet apart, and secured from spreading by cross pieces about every four feet. These structures were carried up to the height of about thirty

feet, and the intervening space filled in with yams. On the top of one of these towers were placed two baked pigs, on the top of the other a live one, whilst a second was tied by the legs about half-way up. Cook says:

"It was extraordinary to see with what facility and despatch they raised these two piles; had our seamen been ordered to do such a thing, they would have sworn it could not be done without carpenters, and the carpenters not without a dozen different sorts of tools and the expense of at least a hundredweight of nails, and after all it would have employed them as many days as it did these people hours, but seamen like most other amphibious animals are always the most helpless on land."

This verdict has been completely reversed at the present day, and the "handy man" is supposed to be equal to anything afloat or ashore.

When these erections were completed, several more piles of yams and bread-fruit were heaped up on either side of the open space, to which were added a turtle and some excellent fish, and the whole was presented to Cook. In the afternoon there was a performance of singing and dancing, and a man armed with a club executed a war dance "with wonderful agility." Some of the *Discovery's* fireworks were afterwards discharged, but the exhibition was not a success as they had been damaged by the wet.

A party of the officers from both ships made a trip inland unknown to Cook, without having obtained leave from any one; and after an absence of two days returned without their muskets, ammunition, and other articles which had been stolen by the natives. Hoping to recover their losses quietly, they persuaded Omai to make a private complaint to the king, with the result that all the chiefs took fright and left the neighbourhood. This annoyed Cook very much and he severely

reprimanded Omai for taking any steps in the matter without his knowledge. This reprimand put Omai on his mettle, and he managed to induce Feenough to return, and then, being able to inform the king that no serious results would ensue, he persuaded him to return the next day. These two told Cook that they could under no circumstances hold themselves responsible for what had happened, but had they been informed that any one wished to see the island, they would have sent a chief with him who would have been responsible for his safety. Notwithstanding that no further trouble was taken over the matter, most of the stolen things were returned, including some tools belonging to the workmen and the missing turkey cock.

As there was to be an eclipse of the sun on 5th July, Cook determined to stay and make observations, and in the meantime employed himself in thoroughly exploring the neighbourhood. On one occasion he accompanied the king when he went to perform a ceremony of mourning for a son who had been dead some time. Polaho was first dressed by two old women in a new cloth garment and over this was an old ragged mat

"that might have served his great-grandfather on some such like occasion; his servants or those who attended him were all dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a mat round them as their master."

Each had a small green bough round his neck, the king only carrying his in his hand till near the place of ceremonial, when he, too, placed it round his neck. On arrival, these branches were thrown away and the king seated himself, then more people gathered round and also seated themselves near him. A large bowl of kava was made and handed round till it was empty, which was before every one had been able to partake.

During this time all maintained the greatest gravity, and hardly a word was spoken; then, when the kava was finished, each one got up and went about his business, much to Cook's disgust, as he had hoped to see an interesting ceremony.

The day of the eclipse was dark and cloudy, with heavy showers of rain, but shortly before the time it cleared a little and the observers got ready at their instruments. Clerke, King, and Bailey had a rather uncertain sight of the commencement: Bailey's time being $11^h\ 46'\ 23\frac{1}{2}''$, King's $11^h\ 46'\ 28''$, and Clerke's $11^h\ 47'\ 05''$, Cook found his dark glass was unsuitable for the day, and Bligh was unlucky in not getting the sun into his field in time. About the middle of the eclipse the clouds came up and the sun was not seen again that day. This failure was of no great importance, as the longitude had already been satisfactorily ascertained from several good lunar observations. As soon as the eclipse was over everything was sent on board, and as no one had taken any notice of the sheep that had been given to Mariwaggee, Cook ordered them to be embarked also, as he felt sure that they would be killed by the dogs as soon as the ships had left.

Understanding that there was to be a grand ceremony of initiation of the king's son into the estate of manhood, at which he was to eat with his father for the first time, and as the wind was unfavourable for sailing through the narrows, Cook determined to wait a few days longer. A party of officers from the ships went over to the island of Moa, where the ceremony was to take place, and there found the king in a small enclosure, the dirtiest they had seen since their arrival, seated with a number of natives drinking kava, and as this beverage was not inviting to the Europeans they went for a walk round the neighbourhood till about ten o'clock, when they found large numbers of people

were assembling in an open space in front of a house they had visited when in the place before. At the end of a lane opening on to this area were men armed with spears and clubs, who were singing short sentences, whilst others were employed in bringing in yams, each one tied to the middle of a pole. After a time the king and prince came in and Cook and his party were invited to sit down, take off their hats, and untie their hair, "that we might appear the more decent."

The men with the yams being all come in, each pole was taken up by two of them, and forming into companies of ten or twelve, headed by a spearman and guarded on each side by others, they marched across the open space, the whole procession being closed by a man bearing a live pigeon on a perch. On asking where the yams were being taken they were informed that they were sent to be baked, but as the information seemed somewhat reluctantly given, some of the party followed and found they were taken to a Morai, or burying-place, where they were being tied up into bundles, for what purpose they could not understand, and as their presence did not seem to be appreciated, they returned to the king, who told them that as no ceremonial would take place for some little time they were at liberty to walk about. Being afraid of missing any of the proceedings they did not go far away, and when they returned the king desired Cook to order the boats' crews to remain in the boats as everything would shortly be "tabu," and any one then found walking about would be beaten and perhaps even killed. They were also told that they could not be permitted to be present at the ceremony, but they would be taken to a spot from whence they could see everything. Their dress was also objected to as they ought not to be clothed higher than the breast. Omai offered to conform to this regulation, but other objections were

then raised, and it was thought wiser not to contest the matter any further.

From the place to which they were taken Cook strolled out a little way, and noticed men making towards the Morai carrying sticks about four feet long, to the middle of which two or three others, about the thickness of a finger, were tied. Finding he was being followed about and being warned several times to go back, he thought it better to comply, and seeing a number of people near a second Morai from which he could see the king's plantation, he went there to the evident satisfaction of his watchers. From here he was able also to see the first Morai, and noticed that when the stick-bearers arrived they formed a procession, two to each stick, and marched away, stooping as if carrying a heavy load, close past where he was standing. When they had all passed, Cook and his party went to the king's house and found him on the point of going out. They were not allowed to follow him, but were conducted to a fence from behind which they could see the first Morai. Here they found a large number of people who were not allowed to join in the ceremony, and the fences near, commanding a view of the proceedings, were lined with spectators.

All these fences had been repaired; some of them were so high that it was impossible to see over them, and it seemed as if they were permitted to be present but were to be prevented from seeing as much as possible. When they took up their places there were already several men sitting in the arena, and shortly after some more came in with small poles and branches of cocoa-nut palms, who were received by one of those seated, with a short speech, and then proceeded to erect a small shed in the centre of the open space with the materials they had brought. When it was completed the prince, accompanied by four or five friends, came in and seated themselves at one side and slightly in the rear of the

shed. Then twelve or fourteen women of high rank came forward and, squatting down in front of the prince, wrapped him and some of his friends in a long strip of cloth they had brought for the purpose, and afterwards sat down at his left. Then the king, preceded by four men, came in and seated himself also on the left, about twenty paces away. Then the procession which Cook had previously seen with the small sticks tied on poles (the small sticks were now understood to signify yams) marched on to the scene, and proceeding to the right of the prince, who had transferred his place to the shed, placed their burdens on the ground and retired to the front of the open space. Several speeches were then delivered, and during the last one the speaker went several times to the pile of sticks and at length took one up and broke it. This concluded the ceremony for that day, and as every one was allowed to go where he pleased, some of the Europeans returned on board, but Cook and two or three more remained till next day to see the completion of the ceremony. They had a supper of fish and yams at which the king was present, and afterwards indulged so freely in brandy and water that Cook, who slept in the same house, says "he went to bed grogish."

About one or two in the morning the king's party woke up and chatted for about an hour and then went to sleep again till daybreak, when they all got up except the king. Soon afterwards one of the women who usually attended on him came in, and asking Cook where the king was, sat down by him and beat a sort of tattoo with her hands on the lower part of his back and thighs; this operation did not send him to sleep as it seemed intended to, but he lay still and quiet. Cook noticed that it was usual whenever the king lay down to rest or sleep, for two of the women who attended on him to come in, and one to beat him

gently with her fists, and when she was tired a second took her place.

"This they continue sometimes a whole night. One would at first think this would produce the contrary effect to what is intended, but it is not so, for it creates a very agreeable and pleasing sensation."

Cook went out to pay an early visit to the prince, whom he found with several other young boys in the charge of an old man and woman, and then returned to breakfast with the king, who was now up, superintending the preparation of a large bowl of kava, and surrounded by a number of attendants. Breakfast consisting of a roast pig and yams was brought in, "the greater part of which fell to our share, that is, to the boats' crew, for these people eat very little in a morning, especially the kava drinkers." Leaving the king to go to sleep, Cook went again to the prince, giving him enough cloth to make a complete suit of clothes, and receiving in return two pieces of native cloth. When dinner was over the people met again in the same open space as on the previous day, and Cook, who had made up his mind to be one of the party, went and sat down amongst them, and though he was requested several times to leave, would not understand. He was then requested to bare his shoulders, which he at once did, and was no longer molested. A few short speeches were delivered, and the king and prince made their appearance, and a procession similar to the one of the previous day took place, the only difference being that some of the men carried fish on the ends of forked sticks. These fish were presented to two men, and stacked alternately to the right and left, whilst a third one tried to seize them as they were presented, and continued to do so till he had secured one, when he remained quiet. When all the members of the procession had come in, there

was a little more speech-making, and then the whole of those who had been seated jumped up, ran a few paces to the left, and sat down again with their backs to the prince. Cook looked round and noticed that the latter had faced the Morai, but he was unable to see what was going on. He was afterwards informed that at that time the king and prince had each been presented with a piece of roast yam. In a short time the people all faced round again and formed a circle round the prince, leaving a large open space, into which came some men carrying sticks over their shoulders, and pretending to march very fast, at the same time gaining but little ground. Three or four men armed also with sticks rushed out on the first lot, who, throwing down their weapons, ran away from their assailants, and the latter fell upon the discarded sticks, and beat them most unmercifully. After this there was a display of boxing and wrestling, and then two speeches, and the ceremonial was at an end. Cook was informed that in about three months' time a far grander ceremony would take place, at which ten men would be sacrificed. He endeavoured to ascertain the meaning of what he had seen, and though the explanation was not very satisfactory, he understood that it was swearing fealty to the prince, and undertaking to support him when he succeeded to the chief position in the country.

Cook was invited by the king to attend the funeral of the wife of Mariwaggee, but as the tide was favourable for the passage of the narrows by daylight, he would not lose the opportunity and sailed at 8 A.M. on 10th July, finding the channel very difficult. They arrived off Middleburg on the 12th and were at once visited by Cook's old friend Taoofa. A party landed and went for a walk on the hills and reported favourably on the appearance of the country. A dish of turnips was obtained, the produce of seed sown at Cook's last visit;

some pine-apples were planted and they were entertained by an exhibition of boxing, wrestling, and dancing. This entertainment was to have been repeated at night, but some of the natives fell upon one of the crew of the *Resolution* and stripped him of everything, whereupon Cook seized a pig and two canoes, and demanded that the culprits should be given up. A man who had the shirt and trousers was handed over, so the two canoes were given up, and the next day the thief was liberated without further punishment, and the pig was paid for. The remainder of the man's clothes were brought in, but were so much torn as to be worthless. The chiefs were given return presents, which were divided between three or four, Taoofa only retaining a small share for himself.

On 17th July they stood out to sea, leaving the Friendly Islands after a stay of between two and three months, during which time they had been living almost entirely on what they had been able to purchase from the natives, with whom they had always been on good terms. On the 29th they met with a very heavy squall in which the *Resolution* lost a couple of stay-sails, whilst the *Discovery* lost main topmast and main topgallant yard, and the head of her main-mast was so badly sprung as to render the rigging of a jury-mast a matter of no little danger, but it was at length successfully accomplished, a spare jibboom being supplied for the purpose by the *Resolution*.

Land, called Toobonai by the inhabitants, in 23° 25′ S., 210° 37′ E. according to Cook, was sighted on 8th August, and appeared to be fertile, the natives, who came out near the ships but would not board, spoke the same language as Omai, and said they had the usual fruits and roots as well as pigs and fowls. Their canoes were very similar to those of New Zealand, but as the wind was favourable, and the natives did not appear to be so, Cook judged that it was not worth while to delay.

Otaheite was reached on the 12th, and amongst the earliest visitors on board was a brother-in-law of Omai, but the meeting appeared to be a matter of complete indifference to both; there were others who knew him well before he went away, but they also treated him quite as if he were an Englishman and a stranger. When, however, he took his brother-in-law into the cabin and presented him with some of the red feathers, a remarkable change came over them, and they all immediately declared the greatest friendship for him, and Cook says that he would "take no advice, but permitted himself to be made the dupe of every designing knave."

Owing to the failure of the wind they did not reach the anchorage till about 9 A.M., when the cattle were at once got ashore, an inspection of the provisions ordered, the caulkers set to work, as the ships had been making a good deal of water since leaving the Friendlies, and preparations were made for taking in ballast. Omai's sister came on board, and Cook says: "The meeting was extremely moving and better conceived than described." The news about the red feathers had spread abroad, and the ship was soon surrounded by canoes filled with goods to exchange. Cook says that a few feathers, "not more than might be got from a tomtit, would purchase a hog of 40 or 50 pounds weight." They went down in value after a time as there were plenty on board, but nails and beads were not looked at, although they had previously been acceptable enough.

Cook learnt that two ships from Lima had been twice at the island since his last visit. The first time they called the crews built a house with material they had brought with them, and then, leaving four men, sailed away and returned after an absence of about ten months. At their second visit their "Commodore" died, and was buried near the house, which was allowed

to remain when they left. It was found to consist of two rooms, and contained a table, bench, bedstead, and a few other trifles. The posts had all been carefully numbered to facilitate erection, and after the Spaniards left, the natives had built a shade over the whole of it to protect it from the weather. Near by was a cross of wood on which was:

"CHRISTUS VINCIT,
CAROLUS III. IMPERAT, 1774."

On the opposite side Cook caused the following to be cut:

"GEORGIUS TERTIUS REX.
ANNIS 1767, 69, 73, 74, et 78."

The anonymous writer mentioned before (Newbery, 1781) states that Cook caused the cross to be pulled down and carried away, and in another place that he "caused the Spanish inscription to be erased, the cross to be effaced, and a new inscription to be cut." Burney corroborates Cook's statement that nothing more was done than the cutting of the second inscription on the back. When the Spaniards left the first time, they took away with them to Lima four of the natives, one of whom died, one remained at Lima, and the other two returned with them. These two last did not seem to have been improved by their experience, for Cook saw one of them and was not impressed by his behaviour; and neither of them appeared to be respected by their countrymen.

Omai took Cook to visit an old man who was known to some of the natives by the name of Olla, but whose proper name, Cook says, was Etary, and who was described by Omai as the God of Bolabola. With the exception that, owing to being blind in both eyes he was carried about on a kind of hand-barrow, he did not appear to be treated differently from any of the other chiefs.

In order to save the store of spirits, the crew of the *Resolution* was mustered, and it was pointed out that as the supply of cocoanuts was abundant, it would be an advantage, in view of the hardships to be encountered in a very cold climate, to stop the regular issue of spirits for a time, but the decision was left to the men. Cook was much gratified to find his suggestion at once agreed to, and instructed Clerke to consult his crew in the same manner; they also consented, and an order was issued to stop

"serving grog, except on Saturday nights, when they had full allowance to drink to their female friends in England, lest amongst the pretty girls of Otaheite they should be wholly forgotten."

On the 16th Cook received a message from the chief of the district, Waheatua, that he was coming to visit him, so he went ashore accompanied by Omai, "dressed in a strange medley of all he was possessed of." They proceeded to a large house where they seated themselves with the presents they had brought for the chief arranged in front. The visitor soon arrived with his mother and several other important personages. Several speeches were delivered, and after having exchanged names with Cook as a token of friendship, the chief and some of the others went on board ship to dinner. Cook was informed that the Spaniards had told the natives that if he came back he was not to be allowed to land in Oaitipehu Bay, as they claimed it as the property of the King of Spain, but Waheatua made a formal surrender of the whole province to Cook, and a day or two afterwards sent a present of ten or twelve hogs, and a quantity of fruit and cloth, and in return was entertained with a display of fireworks, which "both pleased and astonished them." Some of the gentlemen, as Cook always styled the civilians, having reported that they had discovered

a Roman Catholic chapel in their walks, a trip was made to inspect it, when it was found to be, as Cook had suspected, the grave of the late chief. It was decorated with different coloured cloths and mats, including a piece of scarlet broadcloth which had been given by the Spaniards. Two men were found to be in attendance day and night, who did not permit the visitors to make any very close inspection of the place.

On the 23rd the ships sailed for Matavai Bay, where the *Resolution* anchored the same night, the *Discovery* coming in next morning. A message was received from Otoo, the king and friend of their last visit, saying he should be pleased to receive him, so Cook at once went ashore, and was welcomed by the king, his family, and a large number of the people. Otoo was gratified by a present of a fine linen suit, a hat with a gold band, some tools, and, what he seemed to value most, a large bunch of the red feathers, and a feather helmet from the Friendly Islands. After the formal reception the Royal Family went on board ship, and were followed by canoes laden with a present of food sufficient to have kept both ships for a week, had it been possible to preserve it for that length of time. After dinner, Otoo and Cook went to Oparee, taking with them a peacock and peahen, sent specially to the island by Lord Bessborough, a turkey cock and hen, a gander and three geese, a drake and four ducks, in hopes thus to make a commencement in stocking the island. A gander was seen which the natives declared to be the one left by Captain Wallis with Oborea ten years previously. Several goats and a bull left by the Spaniards were also seen, and Cook sent three cows ashore as company for the last. The horses and sheep were also landed, and Cook remarks:

"I now found myself lightened of a very heavy burden, the trouble and vexation that attended the bringing these animals thus far is hardly to be con-

ceived. But the satisfaction I felt in having been so fortunate as to fulfil His Majesty's design in sending such useful animals to two worthy nations sufficiently recompensed me for the many anxious hours I had on their account."

When Vancouver called at Otaheite in the year 1793, he received the usual presents of fruits and animals for food, and amongst the latter were some goats, which, he was informed by the natives, were the descendants of those left by Cook.

As was usual when a stay of any length was intended, the observatory and workmen's tents were got ashore, and a camp established with Mr King in command. The *Discovery's* main-mast was taken out and "made as good as ever," the ships were caulked, sails, water-casks, etc., repaired, the rigging overhauled, but owing to the very unsettled state of the weather the work was much delayed. When the ships' stores were examined, it was found with great satisfaction that very little of the bread was damaged. As all their old friends came to the ships with presents in considerable quantity, the crews soon had enough provisions, and the natives appeared to suffer no inconvenience, as the supplies were everywhere abundant. Cook had the pleasure of presenting Odidie, who had been of great service to him at his last visit, with a suit of clothes specially sent out for him by the Admiralty, and he added to this a chest of tools as a present from himself. A garden also was cleared and planted with potatoes, melons, pine-apples, etc., but Cook had little hope of their receiving proper attention, as he had seen a vine planted by the Spaniards, which the natives had trampled down because, having tasted the grapes before they were ripe, they had come to the conclusion that if it was allowed to grow it would poison every one in the place. It was carefully pruned and put into as good order as

possible, and Omai, who took some cuttings from it, was instructed to explain its use and how it should be cultivated. Shaddocks were also introduced which had been brought from the Friendly Islands.

On the 27th Cook received information from a native to the effect that the two Spanish ships had returned to Oaitipehu Bay, and in proof was shown a piece of cloth which he said he had obtained from one of them, and he also mentioned other circumstances confirmatory of his story. As Cook was, of course, unaware if England and Spain were on unfriendly terms, he had the two ships put into a state of defence, and Lieutenant Williamson was despatched in a boat to obtain further information. On the return of the latter he reported that he had seen no ships, nor were there any signs of their having been in the bay since Cook's departure.

At the time of his last visit to the island, an expedition was preparing against the revolted island of Eimeo, but though it had eventually departed on its mission, nothing very decisive seemed to have occurred, and there were still continual disturbances between the two nations. On 30th August, however, news arrived that the Otaheitans had been obliged to take refuge in the hills, and they appealed for further aid. A grand meeting was held to discuss the affair, and endeavours were made to enlist the active participation of Cook. He, however, declined any share, on the grounds that he was not thoroughly acquainted with the causes of the quarrel, and also that the inhabitants of Eimeo had always been on very friendly terms with him. A chief, named Towha, now sent in word that he had killed a man as a sacrifice to the Eatua (God) in order to secure his assistance in the proposed relief expedition, and Cook, thinking it would be a good opportunity to study the religious customs of the natives, obtained permission

to witness the remaining ceremonies. He started off in a boat accompanied by Dr Anderson, Mr Webber, and the chief Potatow, followed by Omai in a canoe. On their arrival at the place appointed, Otoo desired that the sailors should remain with the boat, and that Cook, Anderson, and Webber should remove their hats immediately on their arrival at the Morai. When they arrived they found the body of the victim had been placed in a small canoe just in front of the Morai, and in the wash of the sea, in charge of four priests and their attendants. The king and his party halted some twenty or thirty paces from the priests, and the rest of the people a little further off. Two priests now came forward, one with a young plantain tree which he placed before Otoo, and the other with a bunch of red feathers with which he touched Otoo's foot, and then both retired to the others. The four priests then went to some small Morais a short distance away, and seated themselves facing the beach, and one of them began reciting a long prayer, occasionally pausing to send, by one of his attendants, a young plantain to be placed on the body of the victim. During this prayer an attendant standing near the officiating priest held in his hands two small bundles, "seemingly of cloth; in one, as we afterwards found, was the Royal Maro, and the other, if I may be allowed the expression, was the ark of the Eatua."

When this prayer was ended, the priests went down to the beach, and, seating themselves, again resumed the prayers, the plantains being removed one by one, and placed in front of the priests. Lastly, the body, partly wrapped in leaves, was lifted out of the canoe and laid on the ground with the feet towards the sea, the priests placing themselves round it, some sitting and some standing, the prayers meanwhile continuing. After a time the leaves were stripped from the body, and it was turned parallel with the water, and one

of the priests standing at the feet pronounced another long prayer, in which he was from time to time joined by the others, each holding in his hand a tuft of the red feathers. Some hair was then pulled from the head and one eye taken out, and after being wrapped in leaves, presented to Otoo, who did not touch them, but sent them back with a tuft of feathers to the priests, soon afterwards sending a second tuft which he had given Cook to put in his pocket for him when they started in the morning. Whilst this part of the ceremony was proceeding a king-fisher made a noise in some trees near, which seemed to be considered a good omen, as Otoo remarked to Cook: "That is the Eatua." The body was then moved to the foot of one of the small Morais and placed with its head towards it, the bundles of cloth that had up to this been carried by the attendant were deposited on the Morai at the head, and tufts of red feathers at the feet. The priests placed themselves round the body and the visitors were permitted to approach a little nearer. More prayers were then said and some speeches delivered, a second lock of hair was plucked from the head and placed on the Morai, and then the two bundles of cloth, on which all the tufts of red feathers had been put, were carried over to the great Morai and laid against a pile of stones, close to which the body was also brought, and whilst the priests seated round it again said some prayers, their attendants were engaged in digging a grave. In this the body was finally buried, and a dog which had been sent over for the purpose by Towha, a very poor one, was partially cooked and presented to the priests, who called on their god to come and see what was prepared for him, and placed it on a small altar on which were the remains of two other dogs and three pigs, which smelt so intolerably that the white men were compelled to keep at a greater distance away than they wished to be. This ended the ceremony

for that day, and the visitors adjourned for the night to a house belonging to Potatow.

In the morning, on returning to the Morai, a pig was sacrificed and put on the small altar with the other remains, and about eight o'clock the priests, Otoo, and a great number of people reassembled there. The two bundles were still where they had been put the night before, but now had two drums standing in front of them between which Otoo, and Cook at his request, seated themselves. The ceremonial was recommenced by placing a small plantain tree at the feet of the king, and then prayers were recited by priests holding bunches of the red feathers in their hands. The priests then moved to a position between the Morai and the king, recited another prayer, and placed the feathers bunch by bunch on the bundles. Four pigs were then produced and one immediately killed, the other three being left in a sty for future occasion. The bundle containing the king's "Maro" was now untied and spread out carefully before the priests on the ground. The "Maro" was about five yards long and fifteen inches broad, composed of red and yellow feathers, mostly yellow. One end was bordered with eight pieces, each about the size and shape of a horse-shoe, the edges fringed with black pigeon's feathers; the other end was forked, the forks being of unequal length. The feathers were arranged in two rows, and had a very good effect. They were fixed on to a piece of the country cloth, and the whole then sewn to the English pendant which Captain Wallis had left flying when he sailed from Matavia Bay.

After the priests had said another prayer over this emblem of royalty, it was carefully folded up again and replaced on the Morai. One end of the second bundle, which Cook calls the Ark of the Eatua, was opened out, but he was not allowed near enough to see what it contained. The entrails of the pig were

then prayed over, and one of the priests turning them over gently with a stick appeared to gather omens of a favourable nature from them; they were then thrown on to a fire, and the partly cooked pig was deposited on the small altar. The whole of the feathers that had been used during the ceremonies were placed in the "Ark," and all was over.

It was ascertained that when a victim was required, a chief fixed on one and sent out his servants to kill him. This was done without any warning and usually by means of a blow on the head with a stone, and it was deemed absolutely necessary that the king should be present at the subsequent ceremonies. Chiefs of an enemy's tribe who were killed in fight were buried with some state in the Morai, and the common men who fell were buried at foot of it.

On their way back to the ship the visitors called on Towha, who had supplied the victim. He asked for Cook's opinion on the ceremonial, and was anything but pleased to hear through Omai that he thought such proceedings would be more likely to offend the Deity than please him, and that he might, in consequence, not permit them to be successful against their enemies. On being asked if the English ever practised such ceremonies, Cook informed him that if the greatest chief in England had killed one of his men he would be hanged; whereupon Towha

"called out vile, vile (Maeno, Maeno), and would not hear another word, so that we left him with as great a contempt for our customs as we could possibly have for theirs."

Cook says that the servants listened to Omai with the greatest interest, and were evidently of a very different opinion from their master.

Cook gives a receipt for a pudding which met with his approval, and he seems to have watched the process

of manufacture with an interest that is surprising when the character for utter indifference to his food, which is given to him, is taken into consideration. This pudding

"was made of Breadfruit, Ripe Plantains, Taro, and Palm or Pandanus nuts, each rasped down, scraped, or beat up fine and baked by itself; a quantity of juice expressed from Cocoanut Kernels was put into a large tray or wooden vessel, amongst it the other articles piping hot, as they were taken out of the oven, and a few hot stones just to keep the whole simmering; three or four men kept stirring the whole with sticks till the several articles were incorporated one with another and the juice of the cocoanut was turned to oil; so that the whole was about the consistency of hasty pudding. Some of these puddings are excellent; we can make few in England that equal them; I seldom or never dined without one when I could get it, for they were not always to be got."

One day Cook accompanied Otoo to his father's house, where he saw two girls being dressed

"in a manner rather curious: the one end of each piece (of cloth) of which there were a good many, was held up over the girls' heads, whilst the remainder was wrapped round them under the armpits; then the upper ends were let fall and hung down in folds to the ground over the other and looked something like a circular hooped petticoat. Afterward round the outside of all were wrapped several pieces of different coloured cloth, which considerably increased the size, so that the whole was not less than five or six yards in circuit and was as much as the poor girls could support. To each was hung two 'Taames' or breastplates by way of enriching the whole. Thus equipped they were conducted on board ship together with several hogs and a quantity of fruit as a present from Otoo's Father to me. Either men or women dressed in this manner they call 'Atee,' but, I believe, it is never done but when they want to make large presents of cloth, at least I never saw it at any other

time, nor indeed did I ever see it before now, but both Captain Clerke and I had cloth given to us in this manner afterwards."

They also went to inspect the body of a chief that had been embalmed, but were not allowed to examine it very closely, being carefully kept outside some rails that enclosed the place where the body lay. This chief had been dead some months, and was so well preserved that they were unable to perceive the slightest unpleasant smell, but they could not gather any information as to how such results had been attained. It appeared that all chiefs who died a natural death were preserved in this manner, and from time to time were exposed to public view, the intervals between each exposure getting longer and longer as time went on, till at length they were hardly ever shown.

Cook and Clerke astonished the natives by taking a ride on horseback through the country, and their progress was watched with great interest by large numbers of people. Omai had on one or two occasions tried to show off his equestrian powers, but had each time been thrown before he was properly in the saddle, so that this was the first time the populace had been able really to see anything of the art of equestrianism, though probably Omai's efforts were more entertaining. The horses were ridden every day by one or another, and Cook thinks that the Otaheitans were more impressed by this use of the animals than by anything else done by the white men, and they were very proud of the horses that had been presented to them when they understood their use. It is strange that only forty years afterwards the natives had so entirely lost all tradition of the use of the horse, that Ellis relates when one was landed for Pomarre, they ran away and hid in fear of the "man-carrying pig," notwithstanding some of them had helped to land it.

On 21st September, the work of refitting being completed, the stores and instruments were put on board and the sails were bent ready for a start. Early next morning Otoo and his father came on board, and finding that Cook intended to visit Eimeo they arranged to go with him, and that their fleet should accompany the two ships in hopes that the rebels in that island might think that the services of the English had been enlisted against them. However, before they were quite ready for the start, news came that Towha had patched up a truce and therefore was not in want of immediate reinforcements. Otoo's presence was required at a sort of thanksgiving that was to be held in celebration of the peace, and Cook was also very desirous of being present, but owing to a bad attack of rheumatism in the legs he was obliged to lie up on board ship. He was accompanied by Otoo's mother, three sisters, and eight other women who had undertaken to effect a cure. He submitted himself to their treatment, which consisted in squeezing and kneading him from head to foot, especially in the parts most affected. This operation they called "Romy," and although Cook says he was glad to escape from them after about a quarter of an hour of this treatment, he confesses he felt relief, and after submitting to four operations of the kind he found himself completely cured.

Mr King and Omai went to see the thanksgiving and returned on the 25th, making a formal report of their experiences. The ceremonial seems to have been similar to that of the recognition of Otoo as king, but less protracted, and Cook concluded from what he was able to gather from Omai, who was present at both, that it was intended more as a ratification of the treaty than as a thanksgiving for peace.

Otoo was very desirous to send a canoe as a present to the King of England, and at first Cook was

willing to make room for it, but when he found it was to be a large double canoe, he felt himself compelled from want of space to decline it. He regretted this greatly, as the idea was quite spontaneous on the part of Otoo, and the canoe, which had evidently been specially made for the purpose, was a very fine specimen of native workmanship. Otoo asked for some axes, six muskets and ammunition, and also requested that the next ships that came from England should not only bring a supply of the much valued red feathers, but also some of the birds that produced them. It must be understood that when the natives made a present they always intimated what they desired in exchange; consequently this method of obtaining supplies was often more expensive than the ordinary bartering, but on occasion of scarcity or other special circumstances it was found very useful.

Newbery's anonymous writer states that whilst at Otaheite two of the officers fought a duel. He does not give the cause, but he says they exchanged three shots, with the result that one of them had his hat seriously damaged, and they were better friends afterwards; his story is not confirmed by the other journals.

On 29th September, the wind having gone round to the east, the *Resolution*, as a final treat for Otoo, went for a short run and back again, and then the two ships sailed for the north side of Eimeo, where they arrived the next day, and were at once visited by the chief Maheine with the usual presents. He was a man of between forty and fifty years of age, and, what was most unusual amongst the islanders, bald-headed. He seemed to be much ashamed of this, and almost always kept his head covered with a sort of turban. Cook believes that this unwillingness to let his want of hair be seen arose from the fact that natives caught stealing on board the ships were often punished by being shaved on the head, and adds:

"One or two of the gentlemen whose heads were not overburdened with hair, lay under violent suspicion of being 'titos' (thieves)."

One of the few remaining goats was stolen, but after some little trouble and threats of reprisals it was returned, and the thief delivered up. A second one was then stolen, so a party was landed and marched across the island, but no trace of the animal was to be seen, and after great consideration Cook decided that he must make some example, and ordered one or two houses and canoes to be destroyed, at the same time sending word to Maheine that if the goat was not returned to him, he would not leave a canoe on the island. This threat had the desired effect: the goat was returned, and the next day the people were quite friendly, and trading went on as smoothly as if nothing had occurred to ruffle the current of their intercourse. Cook expresses regret that he had been obliged to take such strong measures, and he was more particularly annoyed as he had sent a present of red feathers to Otoo, requesting him in return to send a couple of goats to Eimeo, and had every reason to believe his request would be attended to.

On 11th October sail was made for Huaheine, and on their arrival Cook was so ill that he had to be landed from the ship, but he makes no mention of it in his Journal. Oree's two sons were the first to pay a visit with a present, and the information that their father had now handed the government over to the young king. As Cook thought that this island would be more suitable for Omai than Otaheite, and as Omai himself appeared perfectly satisfied with the arrangement, a piece of ground was obtained from the chief, a garden cleared and planted, and a small house erected to contain his stores. The interest of the different chiefs was sought on his behalf, and as it was seen that some of the natives were inclined to take advantage of Omai's

"good nature," Cook let it be understood that if on his return he did not find him in as prosperous a condition as he was now, some one would feel the weight of his resentment. Things went on quite smoothly for some time, but one evening a man got into the observatory and stole a sextant, which, Gilbert says, belonged to Mr Bayley. Cook made a demand to the chiefs at once for its return, but they happened to be attending a theatrical entertainment, and finding they paid little attention to his complaint, and the thief being pointed out, he had him seized and conveyed on board ship. The sextant was recovered, but the man was cruelly punished. Cook, with evident regret for his own severity, says, that finding him to be "a hardened scoundrel, I punished him with greater severity than I had ever done any one before, and then dismissed him." He is said to have had his head shaved and his ears cut off; but Gilbert says this was not done until he had been rearrested for destroying or carrying off plants from Omai's garden, attempting to burn down the house, and threatening to kill Omai as soon as the ships should leave. When he was captured this second time, it was Cook's intention to remove him from the island altogether, but he stole the key of his irons from the guard who had fallen asleep, and made his escape. An enquiry was held, and as it was found that the night watches, whilst at anchor, had been very carelessly kept, fresh and very stringent orders were issued. Omai found that his stock of pots and pans, plates, and glasses, did not attract much attention from his countrymen, and came to the conclusion

"that a baked hog eat better than a boiled one, that a plantain leaf made as good a dish or plate as pewter, and that a cocoanut shell was as good to drink out of as a blackjack, therefore he very wisely disposed of as many of these things as he could to the people of the ships, for hatchets and other useful articles."

Before leaving the island Cook ordered the following inscription to be cut on the end of Omai's house:

GEORGIUS TERTIUS REX 2 *Novembris* 1777

NAVES { *Resolution* JAC. COOK PR.
Discovery CAR. CLERKE PR.

After firing a salute of five guns, the ships sailed on 2nd November. Omai accompanied them for a short distance, leaving in a boat that was sent back, in charge of Mr King, for a portion of a hawser which had parted when they were making sail. King says that when Omai bade good-bye to the officers he was considerably moved, but when he parted with Cook he completely broke down, and wept all the way ashore. The two New Zealanders who had accompanied Omai were also landed, the elder, described by Cook as, "an exceedingly well-disposed young man, with strong natural parts and capable of receiving any instruction," resigned himself very contentedly to end his days in these islands; but the younger one had attached himself so strongly to the people of the ship that he refused to leave, and had to be forcibly carried on shore. Had Cook thought there was "the most distant possibility of any ship being sent out again to New Zealand, I would have brought the two youths of that country home with me."

Cook speaks highly of Omai's good nature and docility and says "during the whole time he was with me, I very seldom had reason to find fault with his conduct." He was grateful and had a tolerable share of understanding, but wanted in application and perseverance, and his powers of observation were not great. These faults were characteristic of his race, and Cook particularly notes that though several European ships had visited the islands, he was unable to see that the inhabitants had obtained any ideas from their visitors.

He was in great hopes that Omai would succeed in bringing his garden to perfection, and would thus make a valuable addition to the products of the island, and he looked upon the animals he had landed as the most important result of Omai's visit to England. Omai's portrait was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dance, and Hodges.

On 3rd November the ships anchored off Ulietea, and as usual were at once surrounded by canoes loaded with roots, fruits, and hogs for sale. As the two vessels were able to run close in, the ballast ports were opened and stagings were erected, so that the rats which had become very troublesome might have a chance to land. One of the marines, John Harrison, who had been standing sentry over the observatory, deserted, taking his musket with him, and Cook applied to the chief for his surrender. A promise was given that he should be returned that night, but as he did not appear and as several small robberies were committed, Cook landed a small party, marched to where he heard the deserter was in hiding, and succeeded in arresting him. He pleaded that he had been enticed away, and as he had previously borne a very good character, and "as it appeared that he remained upon his post till within a few minutes of the time he was to have been relieved, the punishment I inflicted upon him was not great." Ledyard says he received "a short imprisonment."

A second desertion also occurred which might have led to more serious results. Mr Mouat, a midshipman belonging to the *Discovery*, and a seaman from the same ship, deserted, and Captain Clerke went to look for them, only to find himself continually led astray by false reports from the natives. Cook, knowing that several men belonging to both ships were only too anxious to remain in the islands if they could get the chance, determined that they must be recovered at any cost, and went out himself to search. He soon dis-

covered that they had sailed in a canoe for Bolabola, so he at once sent a message to Opooney, ordering him to arrest the men and return them to the ship. The messenger was instructed on no account to return without them, and he was to tell Opooney that if they had left Bolabola for any other of the islands he was to send after them. The chief of Ulietea with his son, daughter, and son-in-law went on board, and Cook decided to detain the last three as hostages, so Clerke invited them to visit the *Discovery*, and made them prisoners in his cabin, and the chief was informed that they would have to stay till the deserters were returned. At first he was very much afraid that he was also to be kept a prisoner. The next day a rumour reached Cook that Clerke and Gore had been seized by the natives in retaliation, so he at once ordered out armed parties, one under King, to rescue them, one in boats to follow up the canoes, in which some of the people were flying, and a third to cut off the retreat along the shore. They were hardly out of sight, when Cook discovered that he had been misinformed and they were at once recalled, but it was afterwards ascertained that there was a plot to seize Cook himself when he went for his accustomed fresh water bath, to which he often went alone, and always unarmed; but this evening, owing to the disturbances about the desertions, he did not go, although he was asked several times by the chief if he was not going. The people made no scruple the next day of talking about this plan and its want of success. Three days afterwards the deserters were returned from Bolabola, and as soon as they were safe on board the hostages were released. Cook says the whole affair gave him far more trouble than both men were worth, and he only insisted on getting them back in order to prevent others from following their example, and

"to save the son of a brother officer from being lost

to the world, for I could soon have supplied their places with volunteers that would have answered our purpose full as well if not better."

It may here be noted that Burney states that Cook was unable to swim.

Before leaving Ulietea a message was received from Omai to say that he was well, but his goat was dead, and he would be glad if it could be replaced, and he would also like to be supplied with two more axes. Clerke was able to let him have two kids, one of either sex, and Cook obliged him with the two axes requested.

CHAPTER XVII

1777-1779—THIRD VOYAGE—*CONTINUED*

CLERKE was now given his orders in case the ships might separate on their way to the coast of North America: he was to cruise for five days near the place where his consort was last seen, and then to proceed to "the coast of New Albion" (so named by its discoverer, Sir Francis Drake, from its supposed resemblance to the white cliffs of old England), endeavouring to fall in with it about latitude 45° N., and there again cruise at a convenient distance from the coast for ten days, and if then unsuccessful in picking up the *Resolution*, he was to put into the first suitable port north of 45°, and recruit his men, at the same time keeping a good look-out for his companion. If still unable to find his consort, he was to put to sea on 1st April, and sailing north to latitude 56°, he was to cruise at a distance of not more than fifteen leagues from the coast until 10th May, when he was to proceed northwards, and endeavour to find a passage to the Atlantic through Hudson's or Baffin's Bay, according to the Admiralty instructions already in his hands. If unable to find any passage, he was to winter in the harbour of St Peter and St Paul in Kamtschatka, or, if he found that unsuitable, he was to go where he judged best, first leaving word with the Governor where he intended to winter, and then to return not later than 10th May in the following year. If, at that time, he did not receive news of the *Resolution*,

he was to follow out the instructions of the Admiralty to the best of his ability.

After being detained by adverse winds for several days, the ships were towed out of the harbour by the boats on 7th December, and sailed for Bolabola to try and obtain an anchor which had been left at Otaheite by De Bougainville, and afterwards sent as a present to the chief of Bolabola. They were not in want of an anchor, but hatchets were in such demand as a medium of exchange that they were driven to making them out of old iron in order to prevent running short. No difficulty was found in purchasing it from Opooney, who refused to receive anything for it till it was safe on board ship, and then Cook was to send him what he liked. It was found to be imperfect, and not so heavy as expected, but was good enough for the required purpose.

On leaving Bolabola they steered to the north with a favourable wind, crossing the line on the 23rd in longitude 203° 15′ E. without having seen land; but at about 8° S., some birds had been noticed which were never found far out at sea. Two days after crossing the Equator, a low island was seen, and Cook anchored in hopes of getting a supply of turtle, and after remaining a day or two was fairly successful. At the same place an eclipse of the sun was observed on the 30th, but the observations were not very successful, owing to the clouds which completely obscured the commencement, but it was clear at the end. Burney says that the observations were taken by Bailey, King, Clerke, Bligh, and Cook, but that Bligh missed the commencement, and Cook had no dark glass, so that only the first three obtained observations, and he gives their times as

	HRS.	MIN.	SECS.
Bailey	11	46	23¼
King	11	46	28
Clerke	11	47	5

He then goes on to say that the end was obscured by clouds, but that it was of no great importance as the longitude had been settled by other observations.

Cook, on the other hand, gives no times for the commencement, but for the end gives the following

	HRS.	MIN.	SECS.
Bailey	0	26	3
King	0	26	1
Cook	0	25	37

He explains the difference between himself and the other two by saying that there was a protuberance on the surface of the moon's shadow, which he had not noticed, but the others had. Two such different accounts of the same event are difficult to reconcile, and the idea suggests itself that Burney had received his information at second hand, and did not quite grasp what he had been told.

Whilst turtle hunting, two of the men of the *Discovery* got lost, and after about twenty-four hours, one turned up almost dead with thirst, and the other one was found the next day. Cook remarks that it was strange they should have been lost for such a length of time, as the ship's masts were to be seen from almost any part of the island, but they appear never to have thought of looking for them. About three hundred turtles were obtained, averaging from 90 to 100 pounds each, "all of the green kind, and perhaps as good as any in the world." They also caught as much fish as they were able to consume during their stay. Cocoa-nuts, yams, and melons were planted on a small island at the entrance to the lagoons, and a bottle was placed where it would be easily found, containing the date and the names of the two ships. The island received the name of Christmas Island as that festival had been celebrated there.

On 2nd January 1778, the two ships weighed anchor, resumed their voyage to the north, and did not sight

land again until in latitude 21° 12′ 30″ N., several islands were discovered which were eventually named after the Earl of Sandwich. Owing to the direction of the wind, they were not able to reach the first one seen, so made for a second, called by the natives Atoui, and were very soon met by canoes coming out to them. The occupants proved to be very like the Otaheitans in appearance and spoke the same language. Their only weapons consisted of stones, which they threw overboard as soon as they found they were not likely to be required. They came close alongside the ships, but could not be tempted to board; they freely exchanged fish for anything they could get, showing a marked preference for nails.

Finding no suitable anchorage, the ships sailed along the south-eastern coast of the island, the canoes quickly dropping astern, their places being as quickly occupied by others which brought pigs, and some very fine potatoes, and exchanged them for anything offered. This arrival at a land of plenty was fortunate, as the supply of turtle, their only fresh food, was just finished, and Cook was looking anxiously forward to an opportunity of obtaining further fresh provisions, both for the sake of the health of his crews, and to save his sea stores. Several villages were seen as they passed along, the inhabitants crowding to the different points of vantage to gaze on the strange sight of the vessels sailing by. After a time some of the natives were persuaded to come on board, and Cook says he never saw any people more surprised, "the wildness of their looks expressing their astonishment." The novelty of their surroundings did not last very long, and they soon began to show they were quite alive to their own interests. The first man who came on board took a fancy to the small lead line, put it into his canoe, and was with some little difficulty persuaded to return it. A second stole the cook's

cleaver, and leaping overboard with it, got to his canoe, and although immediately followed by boats from the ship managed to reach the shore, and got clear away. Gilbert says that the natives attempted to upset a boat that was employed looking for a landing-place in the surf, and that they would not desist from their attempts till they were fired on and one native wounded; but the next day they were as friendly as if nothing of the kind had happened.

Anchorage was at length found near one of the villages close to a large pond, and Cook landed to ascertain the quality of the water and the disposition of the inhabitants. As soon as he set foot on shore a large crowd pressed forward to meet him, and throwing themselves flat on their faces remained in that position till he signed to them to rise. They then brought forward a great many small pigs, which they presented to their visitors without appearing to care whether they got anything in exchange or not; but Cook distributed amongst them the goods he had brought with him. The water proved of good quality and conveniently situated, so a party was taken on shore the next day and set to work to water the ships, the natives readily assisting in rolling the casks to and from the shore; and at the same time a brisk trade in pigs and potatoes was carried on.

When everything had settled down into working order, Cook, Anderson, and Webber, accompanied by one of the natives, and followed by a considerable number of others at a little distance, went for a short tour of inspection, and were greeted by all whom they met with what appeared to be the usual salutation to great chiefs, namely, the natives threw themselves down on their faces and remained in that position till they had passed on. Webber took a sketch of a Morai or burial place similar to those in Otaheite, but it had a remarkable feature in a sort of pyramid built of poles about four

feet square at the base,. and perhaps twenty feet high; it had apparently originally been covered with a sort of thin grey cloth which was specially reserved for religious purposes and ceremonials. Along one side of the Morai was a shed about forty feet long, in the centre of which was a block of timber placed on end, which Cook calls an altar, and on either side a rudely carved female figure, said by their guide to be representations of goddesses; but as no objection was raised to a close examination, it was concluded that they were not looked upon with any very great veneration. The graves themselves were a little lower than the ordinary level of the ground, and were edged round with stones, and the whole place was surrounded by a stone wall about four feet high.

Cook was very well satisfied with the amount of trading done, as he had obtained from sixty to eighty pigs, a few fowls, a quantity of potatoes, some yams and some taro, and he says, "No people could trade with more honesty than these people, never once attempting to cheat us, either ashore or alongside the ship," and they seem very soon to have given up their endeavours to steal. At night it came on to rain and blow and a nasty sea got up, but still a few canoes managed to get out to trade. Thinking that the position of his ship was not very safe, Cook weighed anchor with the intention of moving a little further out, but the wind veered suddenly round to the east, and he had to set all sail to clear the shore. The current rendered it very difficult for him to recover the desired position, so he signalled to the *Discovery* to follow him, picked up his boats which had been away for water, and stood away for the west end of the island. Finding no shelter from the swell which was breaking in heavy surf on shore, he bore away for Eneeheeow, to look for a more favourable place. When about a couple of leagues from the island he turned back for the

Discovery, as nothing had been seen of her since she was ordered to follow, and he thought she might perhaps have got into difficulties. She was, however, soon picked up, and the two vessels took up their new berth near a village, Gore being sent to look for water, which was found about half a mile inland, but the supply was not large and the road to it very rough. Next day Gore again went ashore to trade, and managed to get a good supply of yams and some salt, but most of the last was lost in attempting to get to the boats as the surf was very heavy, and before evening had become so bad that the party were unable to return to the ships. The next day it was still worse, but Cook from his ship discovered a place that appeared somewhat sheltered and ordered the men to march to it, and then, going himself with the boats, brought the party off with little difficulty. At the same time he left with a man, who appeared to be a chief, an English sow and boar, and a male and two female goats. Whilst his men were engaged filling some water casks he took a short walk, finding the ground rough, stony and uncultivated, but covered with vegetation, "some of which sent forth the most fragrant smell I had anywhere met with in this sea." A few roots, some salt and salt fish were obtained, and they returned to the ship intending to land again the next day, but the anchor dragged in the night, and by the time they had it up they had drifted so far that he determined to delay no longer, and, signalling to the *Discovery* to follow, stood away to the north.

The chiefs of these islands wore, on state occasions, feather cloaks and helmets beautifully constructed with the red and yellow feathers that the natives appear to value so much. The potatoes obtained were sweet and good, and the taro root was the best Cook had ever tasted, whilst the salt fish was also good and kept well. The *Resolution* obtained three weeks' provisions, and the *Discovery* enough roots to last two months.

Baron von Humboldt in "Cosmos," states that one of this group of islands was discovered in 1542 by a Spaniard named Gaetano, when on the voyage between Manilla and Acapulco. It seems extraordinary that more discoveries were not made by the Spaniards during these voyages across the Pacific; but M. l'Abbé Raynal accounts for it by stating that the strictest orders were given by the Spanish Government, to the effect that captains were on no account to deviate from the track laid down on their charts during the voyage between these two places. On the charts which were supplied to Cook there is an island shown, named "La Mesa" (the table), in longitude 214° 50′ E., and Burney thinks it may possibly be meant for Owhyhee, as the name is very appropriate, but he finds the longitude to be 203° 30′ E.

Manley Hopkins, in his book on Hawaii, states that the natives have traditions of the arrival of strangers long before Cook's time; they are said to have arrived in a boat without sails, and to have been dressed in red and yellow, the Spanish colours, the leader wearing a sword. They took a part in the government of the island, so must have made some considerable stay. He places their arrival somewhere about 1600, and also says that Cook during his visit found two pieces of iron, one being evidently part of a broadsword and the other a piece of hoop iron. Burney notes, under date 2nd February 1778, the day they left Eneeheeow, that they saw a piece of a sword said to have come from an island in the south-east (probably Owhyhee).

On 2nd February the ships left the Sandwich Islands for the north, and saw no signs of land until the 25th, when in latitude 42° 30′, longitude 219° E., some of the rockweed known as sea leek was found. On the 27th a sailor named Thomas Goodman had the misfortune to fall from the rigging on board the *Discovery*, and broke his collar bone. On 6th March two seals and several

whales were noticed, and the next day New Albion was sighted at a distance of ten or twelve leagues. At noon the *Resolution's* position was 44° 33′ N., 236° 30′ E., and Cook's orders had been to strike it "about 45° N." The land appeared to be of a moderate height, diversified with hill and valley, and almost everywhere covered with trees, but with no remarkable points about it, excepting one flat-topped hill. Soon after passing a headland very bad weather was experienced, and consequently the name Cape Foul Weather takes its place on the chart, and its position is given as 44° 55′ N., 235° 54′ E. Cook notes that just about where he struck the coast his charts showed a

"large entrance or strait, the discovery of which they ascribe to Martin d'Aguilar in 1603, but in the account of his voyage, there is nothing mentioned but a large river which he could have entered, but was prevented by the currents."

As the weather continued very stormy and unsettled, their progress up the coast was necessarily very slow, and by 22nd March they were only passing Cape Flattery, the place where the geographers had put "the strait of Juan de Fuch"; but Cook was unable to find any signs of such straits ever having existed. On 29th March the coast assumed a very different appearance, being "full of high mountains covered with snow, but the valleys between them and the land on the sea coast, high as well as low, well cloathed with wood." Here was discovered a large bay which was named Hope Bay, "in which from the appearance of the land we hoped to find a good harbour, and the event proved we were not mistaken." This harbour was found in an inlet, and it was soon discovered that the country was inhabited, as the natives put off in their canoes, and showed neither fear nor distrust of their visitors. They appeared to be a mild and inoffensive

race at first, and were willing to trade anything they had with them, iron being the article most desired in exchange, and they did not care for either beads or clothing. After they got used to the ships, however, they turned out to be adepts at thieving; no piece of iron was safe, they cut off the large fish-hooks from the lines, and even stripped the fittings from the boats. Brass and copper was also taken, and Cook says:

"Before we left the place, hardly a bit of brass was left in the ship, except what was in the necessary instruments. Whole suits of clothes were stripped of every button. Bureaux, etc., of their furniture, and copper kettles, tin canisters, candle-sticks, etc., all went to wreck, so that these people got a greater medly and variety of things from us than any other people we had visited."

It would seem in this quotation that Cook does not confine his remarks to what was stolen, but includes also what was given in exchange. They were detected adding water to the bladders of oil they sold, but it was thought advisable to wink at the fraud.

The observatory was set up on shore, and arrangements were made for getting in supplies of wood and water, and for doing such repairs as had become necessary to the ships. On 4th April, the natives, who, beyond their thieving propensities, had given no trouble, assembled near where a party was at work getting wood and water, and were observed to be arming, those who had no weapons taking up sticks and stones. This occasioned some alarm, and all the English were ordered to the observatory, and an armed party was landed to join them. The Indians then explained that they intended no harm to the Europeans, but were preparing to meet some of their own countrymen who were coming to fight them. After a time a number of canoes appeared, one or two went out

to meet them, and a discussion ensued, and matters seemed to be satisfactorily arranged; but the strangers were not allowed to approach the ships nor to join in trading.

The stay at this place was longer than was expected, for when everything seemed ready for sailing, the foremast of the *Resolution* was found to be very defective, and it had to be taken out for repairs; fortunately plenty of timber was available, and the opportunity was taken to fit an entirely new set of standing rigging to the mainmast, and a set for the foremast out of the best of the old. The mizzen also was found to be very rotten, and was replaced; the first stick proved faulty when a good deal of work had been done on it, and a second one had to be obtained. The weather also caused considerable delay, being very bad for some time, but on the first fine day they had had for a fortnight, they got up the topmasts and yards. The heaviest of the work being thus completed, Cook went through King Gèòrge's Sound, as he had named it (the native name being Natooka) on a tour of inspection. He visited a large village, where he was courteously received by the inhabitants, to most of whom he was known, and was invited into their houses, in many of which he found women at work making dresses out of bark in much the same manner as that employed by the New Zealanders, whilst others were engaged in curing fish. Further up the Sound a deserted village was seen with large fishing weirs close by, but apparently quite neglected; they were near a small plain on which grew "some of the largest pine trees I ever saw, whereas the elevated ground on most parts of this side the Sound was rather naked." On the opposite side they came across another village, but though the chief was given a present he was very surly, and anxious for them to go away, Some of the ladies, however, were more agreeable, and dressing

themselves in their best, entertained their visitors with a song, "which was far from being harsh or disagreeable."

One day Cook and Clerke paid a second visit to the village where they had been so well received, and sent their boat's crew to cut some grass for the few sheep and goats that were still left, but when they were seen by the natives a claim was immediately made for it. Cook went to arrange matters, and thought he had satisfied all demands, but when he ordered his men to go on cutting, new owners sprang up, till he says there did not seem to be a blade of grass that had not a separate owner, and he soon had his pockets empty. When it was found that there was nothing more to be obtained, the grass cutting was allowed to go on wherever the sailors liked.

The people are described as being short, with broad, flat faces and high cheek bones, plump cheeks, swarthy complexions, and no pretensions to good looks; the hair long, black, and straight, and their legs crooked with much sitting. Burney says that at first they did not discover them to be white, but after much cleaning they were found to have skins "like our people in England." Cook says they appeared to be a docile, courteous, and good-natured people, but passionate, and quick at resenting injuries.

"I never found that these fits of passion went further than the parties concerned, either with us or among themselves, the others never troubled themselves about it, nay, often with so much indifference as if they did not see it. I have often seen a man rave and scold for more than half an hour without anyone taking the least notice of it, nor could anyone of us tell who it was he was abusing."

Burney describes their language as harsh, and as apparently insufficient to express their feelings when in a passion or in earnest discourse, on which occasions it

was eked out with such nods and jumps as reminded the onlooker of "Punch and the Devil." Cook describes their clothing as consisting of

"skins of animals chiefly, and they also made some kind of cloth manufactured from fibre or wool and hair, or a mixture of both. In these clothes, with the addition of a coarse mat and a strong straw hat, they would sit in their canoes through the heaviest rain as unconcernedly as if they were in perfect shelter."

They had also wooden masks made in imitation of human faces, birds, or animals, but whether they were for protection when fighting, decoys when hunting, or ornaments at their public entertainments, Cook was unable to decide. Their songs bore considerable resemblance to those of the New Zealanders. Their houses were substantially built of logs and boards obtained by splitting large trees, and were some of them as much as 150 feet long by 25 to 30 feet wide, and 7 or 8 feet high, divided into compartments, each of which appeared to be the property of one family. The roof was formed of loose planks which they moved about as they wished, so that the light might fall in any compartment. From this Cook judged that these were only temporary summer residences which they occupied when they came to fish, and that they probably had better houses inland, to which they repaired for the winter hunting. The furniture consisted of a few boxes, some wooden vessels for their food, and a few mat bags, etc. Their cooking was fairly good, but excessively dirty, and their persons and houses "filthy as hogs' sties."

They had often two wooden figures in their houses, something like human figures, of which they spoke in a rather mysterious manner, but it was not thought that they were much venerated, for Cook says he could have bought the whole lot for but a small quantity

of old iron or brass. Their arms consisted of bows and arrows, slings, spears, a small club of wood or stone, something like the New Zealand "patoo," and a stone tomahawk, the handle fashioned like a human head, the stone cutting-part being a large tongue. These last were often decorated with human hair. For defensive purposes they had a double cloak of hide, usually moose, very serviceable against an arrow or a spear; but they were greatly surprised to see a bullet penetrate through one folded four times.

The only animals seen were racoons and something resembling a polecat; but amongst the skins obtained were wolf, bear, deer, marten, fox, ermine, seal, sea-beaver, etc., etc. No dogs were seen. Land and water-fowl were scarce, and, with the exception of the ravens and crows, were very shy. The only vegetables obtained were a few nettles and wild garlic, and spruce for beer-making; but Burney says that at the back of the village there was a large plantation of cherry trees, gooseberry and currant bushes, raspberries and strawberries, "but unluckily for us none of them in season." He also says that on 20th April a native who had been allowed to go into Cook's cabin, carried off his watch, and managed to leave the ship before it was missed. Fortunately his canoe was seen to be alongside the *Discovery* and notice of the loss was at once sent, a search made, and the watch found hidden away in a box in the canoe. Burney also says that they purchased from the Indians two old-fashioned silver tablespoons, supposed to be Spanish, and a pewter wash-hand basin.

On 26th April they at length managed to make a start, though the weather was very threatening, and some few of the natives accompanied them till they were nearly out of the Sound. One chief who had specially attached himself to Cook during their stay, being given a small present at parting, gave in return a valuable beaver skin, so Cook added to his former

gift, when the chief insisted on presenting him with a beaver cloak on which he had always appeared to set great value. In return for this, Cook says he was made "as happy as a prince by the gift of a new broadsword with a brass hilt." The following day they were well clear of the land, and heading for the north-west, the direction in which the coast appeared to trend. In the afternoon the wind increased to a perfect hurricane, and Cook, deeming it unsafe to attempt to run before it, ordered both ships to lay to, heading to the south-east. The *Resolution* sprang a-leak, and the water could be seen and heard rushing in; the fish-room was soon flooded and the casks were all floating about, but after some trouble and anxiety, one pump was found to be sufficient to keep the upper hand of the leak. The gale lasted for two days, clearing on the second one sufficiently to enable an observation to be taken, which gave the position as 50° 1′ N., 229° 26′ E.; but Cook regretted that the weather prevented him from getting any bearing on the coast, as they were then about opposite to that part marked on his charts as "Straits of de Fonte."

On 2nd May a group of small islands was passed in 56° 48′ N., and Mount Edgcombe on the mainland was named. They could now run along the coast within such a distance as enabled them to see and name the most salient points, but time was too valuable to make any halts by the way. The land appeared to be of considerable height, and the hills were covered with snow; but close to the sea it was free and well wooded. Mount St Elias was sighted on 4th May, at a distance of forty leagues, and on the 6th they arrived in the bay in which it was believed Behring had anchored, so his name was given to it on the chart. Soon afterwards the land trended away more to the west, and the wind being westerly and very light, the progress was slow. They attempted to put into a small

bay near Point Suckling in order to attend to the leak in the *Resolution*, but owing, first to a shift in the wind, and then to a calm coming on, they were not able to do so. Cook landed on an island to try to get a view of the land on the other side, but the hills proved so long, steep, and thickly wooded, that he was obliged to give up the attempt. He left a bottle containing the ships' names, the date of the visit, and two silver twopenny pieces (1772), which had been given to him by his friend, Dr Kaye, and gave the island that gentleman's name. Currant and strawberry plants were found, but it was too early for fruit.

Near Cape Hinchinbroke the ships put into an inlet, and were made as secure as possible, as a thick fog came on. As soon as the weather cleared Gore went off to shoot on some rocky islets near, but when almost there he saw two large canoes containing about twenty Indians, and he thought it wiser to return to the ship, to which he was followed by the canoes, but they did not venture very close. Some presents were thrown to them, and the natives, after making signs which were supposed to signify friendship, retired with the intimation that they would return in the morning. Two of them, however, each in a small canoe, paid their visit during the night, but finding that, contrary to their expectation, every one on board was not asleep, they beat a hurried retreat. The next day the ships were moored in better positions, and more Indians turning up, they had little difficulty in entering into friendly relations with them. They readily parted with what goods they had, chiefly skins, and were anxious to obtain iron in exchange, but as they preferred it in pieces about ten inches long by three wide, and it was becoming rather a scarce article on board, they did not get much of it.

At the first only one man had ventured on board the *Discovery*, and he, as he saw only one or two of the crew

on deck, came to the conclusion that he had found a great opportunity for himself and his friends. He went to the *Resolution* in search of assistance and then back to the *Discovery*, and they rushed the deck with their knives drawn, but had only time to throw the rudder of a boat overboard, when the crew ran up armed with their cutlasses, and the invaders retired remarking to each other that the white men's knives were longer than theirs. They then went off towards a boat that was sounding, and the officer in charge thought it better to return to his ship. The natives attempted to seize the boat when all had left it except the caretakers, but were driven off by the boats' crew. Burney says that at the same time those near the *Resolution* broke all the glass scuttles they could manage to reach with their paddles. Cook points out that they must have been totally ignorant of fire-arms, and concludes his account of the affair by saying:

"However, after all these tricks, we had the good fortune to leave them as ignorant as we found them, for they neither heard nor saw a musket fired unless at birds."

On the 14th, just as they were about to weigh anchor, it came on to blow, and as it did not show any signs of moderating, Cook decided to heel his ship, which was well sheltered, and repair the leak. A kedge anchor was carried out in a boat, and in heaving it overboard a sailor got caught in the buoy rope and was carried down to the bottom, but managed to disengage himself and was picked up—but one of his legs was badly fractured. The leak was found to be caused by the openness of the seams, in several places it was found that the oakum had entirely disappeared. One writer says that it was caused by the rats, and that the ship was only saved through the leak having been choked up by rubbish.

The natives, who had been away during the bad weather, now returned, and Cook had the opportunity of studying them and their customs. He had with him a description of the Esquimaux written by Crantz, and found this people to be very similar in many respects; he describes them as being a thickset, good-looking people with features and language widely different from the inhabitants of Nootka Sound. Their boats were made of skins stretched on a wooden frame like those of the Greenlanders, there being a slight difference in form at both prow and stern. The dress was similar to that described by Crantz, the undergarments being of skins worn with the hair side out. Some of the women, over these clothes, wore a bearskin, and most of the men had a sort of shirt made from what Cook thought was the intestine of the whale; it was tied round the neck and arms and secured to the rim surrounding the hole in the canoe cover in which they sat, and they were thus rendered quite waterproof. The men wore a conical straw cap, but the women had no head-dress. The men wore beards which they ornamented with beads or pieces of bone, and the women were tattooed in imitation. They all had the bottom lip slip horizontally, giving them the appearance of having two mouths. In these slits pieces of bone were fixed, and other pieces tied to the first with thread, forming a great impediment to their speech, and sometimes giving the wearers the appearance of having a double set of teeth. Some also had pieces of bone, beads, or cord run through the cartilage of the nose, and they all had their faces plentifully smeared with black and red paint. Their arms were similar to those described by Crantz, and they had a sort of defensive armour made of slips of wood fastened together with sinews. As none of them lived near the bay, there was no opportunity of seeing anything of any of their dwellings.

The weather at length cleared up, and they were able to go out in the boats to examine the bay which had been given the suggestive name of Snug Corner Bay. The shore was, as a rule, low and partly covered with spruce or fir of some size, the open ground had snow two or three feet deep on it. The surrounding hills were completely covered with timber, but further inland the heights appeared to be rocky and clad with snow. A good many ducks and geese were seen, but they were so wild it was difficult to get a shot at them.

On 17th May the repairs were completed and anchors weighed for a trip up the inlet to make sure that there was no possibility of a passage to the north-east. They got amongst "very foul ground," and the wind dropped so they anchored for the night, and next morning Mr Gore with two boats was sent to examine an arm that ran to the north, and Mr Bligh with two more boats went to one running in an easterly direction. Mr Bligh soon found his arm returned again into the inlet, but Mr Gore reported an offshoot which he thought might lead them to the north-east. However, Mr Roberts, Masters' Mate, who had accompanied Gore to sketch, believed that they had seen the end of it, and as the set of the tide seemed to Cook to render the probability of any passage being found, very unlikely, and as the wind was now favourable, they returned on their track, and seeing another passage were able to shorten their journey to the open sea considerably. The island that they had thus sailed round was named Montagu Island, and several others were noted near the entrance, the outer ones being high and rocky and the inner ones were low and covered with verdure, and in consequence received the name of the Green Islands, whilst the inlet was called Sandwich Sound.

Their course was now south-west past Cape Elizabeth, a lofty headland named after Princess Elizabeth, as it was sighted on her birthday, and they were in hopes

that it was the western extremity of the coast, as they could see nothing further in that direction, but shortly after rounding the Cape, land was reported in the west-south-west and a gale springing up they were forced off their course. In two days they managed to get back again and discovered more land behind what had been previously seen extending to the south-south-west; it appeared to consist of a range of high mountains covered with snow. Cook thought this was Cape Saint Hermogenes, mentioned by Behring, but could not feel certain, as the English version of his voyage that he had with him was so abridged, and the chart so inaccurate, that he could not positively identify any place mentioned therein.

On nearer approach this land was found to consist of a number of islands and, passing to leeward, a promontory opened out, formed of two high mountains, and was named Cape Douglas, after the then Dean of Windsor, its position being given as 58° 56′ N., 206° 10′ E. On the following day more mountains were observed to the north, and the highest point was named Mount St Augustine, as it was that saint's day. It was at first thought that these mountains were quite unconnected with Cape Elizabeth, and on nearer approach Cook altered his opinion, but it eventually proved that his first idea was correct. In order to satisfy the doubts of some of his officers rather than his own, they worked up a large estuary formed by two rivers, one of which he named Turnagain, and the other was named by Lord Sandwich's orders, Cook's River, and after having convinced every one that there was no possibility of any communication with Hudson's Bay, they returned to the open sea. During the short time spent in this estuary they were visited by a few of the natives, who did not seem to differ in any way from the inhabitants of Sandwich Sound. On 2nd June the *Resolution* struck on a mud bank owing to the carelessness of the leads-

man, but floated off undamaged at high tide, and the *Discovery* nearly suffered the same mishap at the other end of the bank. They obtained a good supply of very fine salmon from the natives who were fishing in the neighbourhood, and who were glad to exchange them for anything they could get. Cook formed the opinion that a paying fur trade might be established with these Indians, although the distance from England was very great; but this distance would be lessened if he could only discover a practicable north-west passage. As the furs that were offered in trade were of considerable value, Cook judged that there had been little communication between these natives and the Russians.

After passing Cape Hermogenes they plied up the coast with a south-east by south wind for three days in misty, drizzly weather, and working gradually westwards passed through the islands off the American coast, Quelpart, on the 18th, but it was not thought advisable to run close in. Just as they got clear of the islands the *Discovery* signalled that she wanted to communicate, so a boat was sent to her and returned with a small box curiously tied up with neatly made twine. It had been delivered on board the *Discovery* by an Indian who took off his cap and bowed like an European, and after having performed his errand, immediately left the ship. Ledyard says the messenger first attracted the attention of the *Discovery* by displaying a pair of old plush breeches and a black cloth waistcoat. On examination the box was found to contain a paper which was considered, and it afterwards proved to be correct, to be written in Russian, but the only things understood by any one on board were the two dates, 1778 in the heading and 1776 in the body of the document. It was surmised that it had been written by a Russian trader and given to the native with instructions to place it on board the first ship he saw.

On the 20th in 54° 18′ N., 195° 45′ E. a volcano throwing out a dense column of smoke was observed, and they found themselves compelled to give the shore a wider berth, as ridges of rocks running out as much as seven leagues, rendered the navigation very dangerous. In the afternoon a calm came on, and the crews were very successfully employed in fishing, capturing over a hundred halibut, weighing from twenty to as much as a hundred pounds. They were here visited by a man who had nothing to exchange except a grey fox skin, and it was very evident that he had previously been in contact with Europeans, for he took off his cap and bowed like his compatriot, who had visited the *Discovery*, and he was wearing green cloth breeches, and a cloth or stuff jacket. Unfortunately, they were totally unable to understand his language, so no information could be obtained from him.

On 26th June, during very thick weather, when it was not possible to see a hundred yards from the ships, breakers were heard, and the anchors were let go. An hour or two later the fog lifted, and they found themselves about three-quarters of a mile from a rocky island, having passed between two elevated rocks about half a league apart, a place through which, says Cook, "I should not have ventured in a clear day," but after all they had "such an anchoring place that I could not have chosen a better." A boat was sent off, and grass and a few small plants were obtained, one of which, something like parsley, was pronounced good for either soups or salad, but no shrubs or trees were to be seen.

On 27th June the island of Onalaschka, which was at first thought to be several islands, was sighted, and natives were seen towing in two whales they had killed. A few of them came off to the ships and exchanged some things of trifling value, but did not stay any length of time. They were somewhat shy, but had

evidently seen ships before, and were more polite than the Indians had been previously. Passing through a channel between the island and some land to the north, which was afterwards found also to be islands, they experienced a very rapid tide running against them. The *Resolution* managed to get through without any great difficulty, but the *Discovery* was not so fortunate, and only just managed to get clear after being in some danger of running ashore. The coast now trended away to the north, and they were in hopes that the run to the westward was at an end. Coming to anchor they were soon visited by natives, who readily exchanged their fishing implements for tobacco. One of them upset his canoe near one of the ship's boats, and was immediately picked up, his own canoe floating away, was towed ashore by a friend. Cook took him down into the cabin and provided him with dry clothes, and remarks, "he dressed himself with as much ease as I could have done." His own clothes were made from birds' skins, with the feathers inside, and patched in several places with "silk stuff," and over these he wore a shirt-like garment of whale's intestine, similar to those seen at Sandwich Sound. It was very evident from their behaviour that he and his people were not strangers to Europeans; but Cook says there appeared to be something strange to them about the ships, for "such as could not come off in canoes assembled on the neighbouring hills to look at them."

They here received a second letter written in Russian, but as it could not be translated by any one on board, Cook returned it to the bearer and gave him a few presents, and he retired bowing his thanks. Whilst his men were engaged in getting in a supply of water, Cook took a walk along the shore, and came across a party of the natives feasting on "raw halibut, which they eat with as much or more satisfaction as we should a turbot served up with the most costly sauce."

They were detained in this neighbourhood by fogs and contrary winds till 2nd July, when they were able to get away to the north with a favourable breeze. After a time, as no land appeared, the course was altered to north-east, and about midnight it was sighted, and the ships stood off and on till morning. On approaching nearer at daylight, low ground destitute of timber appeared with a backing of snow-clad hills. Williamson, who was sent ashore, reported that he found a little grass and a few scattered plants, but the general aspect was barren and uninviting. He saw "a doe and her fawn," and a dead sea-horse; these last animals seemed plentiful, as a good many had been noticed about that time.

From Cape Newenham the coast again took a more northernly direction; the bay, of which it forms the northern limit, was named Bristol Bay after Admiral, the Earl of Bristol. The inhabitants were found to be similar to those with whom they had previously come in contact, except that they were if possible dirtier, and they did not appear to have had any intercourse with Europeans.

On 3rd August Anderson, the surgeon of the *Resolution*, who had been ill for some months, died, and Cook says of him, "he was a sensible young man, an agreeable companion, well skilled in his profession, and had acquired much knowledge in other sciences." An island which was sighted shortly after his death was named Anderson's Island "to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, for whom I had a very great regard." Mr Law was appointed to his place, and Mr Samwell went to the *Discovery* as surgeon.

On 4th August land was seen, which was believed to be the continent; close to the sea it was very low, but rose to a considerable altitude inland, and though quite free from snow it was destitute of timber. In order to secure a good view of the coast, they landed on Sledge Island, so called from an old sledge found on

it, similar to those used by the Russians in Kamtschatka, but the weather was so thick as to prevent them seeing anything. A few vegetables such as wild parsley, long wort, etc., were found, and were secured "for the pot." It was evident that the natives visited the island frequently as a well-beaten path was found from one end to the other, and some decayed huts, partly underground, were seen.

Cape Prince of Wales, 65° 46′ N., 191° 45′ E., assumed to be the most western point of North America, was seen on 9th August, and they thought that they could also distinguish some people, huts, and fishing stages. On the 10th they landed on what, from Heydinger's Chart, they took to be the eastern end of the Island of Alaska, but it afterwards was found to be the eastern extremity of Asia. Burney says this chart proved "not only to be incorrect but almost unintelligible." The inhabitants were taller and stouter built than those on the American side of the straits. Their clothing was very superior, and they were armed with spears and bows and arrows. Some of the quivers for the last were of embroidered red leather. They appeared frightened of their visitors, and although not particularly unfriendly, would not put their weapons out of their hands. Their winter huts were partly underground, and were roofed over with grass and earth, the entrance being through a hole in the roof. The summer residencies were built of light timber work covered with skins. They were willing to supply the ships with a large quantity of salmon, but the country round was very desolate, neither tree nor shrub to be seen.

Leaving this place for the American shore, they were in 70° 33′ N., 197° 41′ E. on the 17th when they fell in with "ice blink," rather earlier than had been expected, and very soon afterwards with the ice itself in the shape of a large field extending from west to east, as far as the

eye could reach. They now got a supply of fresh meat, having killed a good many sea-horses. Burney says that it was but indifferent eating, being very fishy, but the blubber was very useful for the lamps. Cook, however, says that many preferred it to the salt meat, and it was undoubtedly a valuable change. He also says:

"They did not appear to be the dangerous animal some authors have described, not even when attacked, they are rather more so to appearance than reality; vast numbers of them would follow and come close up to the boats, but the flash of a musket in the pan, or even pointing one at them would send them down in an instant."

For some days flocks of ducks had been seen flying to the south, and Cook judged that they had been north for the breeding season, and were now returning to winter in a warmer climate.

The ships steadily, but slowly, pushed up north along the American shore, but were continually hampered by the ice and fog, so on the 23rd the course was changed to the west. Here, again, they were disappointed, for on the 26th they found themselves embayed in the ice, which was high, with a quantity of heavy loose floe-ice along the edge of the main field. Cook concluded that this ice was composed of frozen snow, that is glacier ice, and not formed in the mouths of rivers as had been suggested, for he says he found in it

"none of the productions of the land incorporated or fixed in it, which must unavoidably have been the case had it been formed in rivers either great or small."

Burney says that they were in constant dread of being pinched, and when they made over to the Asiatic side, they were so troubled by ice and fog that they were a week in making the passage.

On 29th August Cape North was sighted, and named,

but as the season was so far advanced, Cook decided to turn southwards, running down the Asiatic shore, in hopes of getting a supply of wood and water, of both of which they were now in want. On 2nd September the most eastern point of Asia, Tchukotskoi Nos, was passed, a peninsula of considerable height joined to the mainland by a very low and apparently narrow neck of land. It is situated, according to Cook, in 66° 6′ N., 190° 22′ E., and is about thirteen leagues from Cape Prince of Wales on the American coast.

Speaking of Behring's explorations in this part of the world, Cook says:

"In justice to Behring's memory, I must say he delineated this coast very well, and fixed the latitude and longitude of the points better than could be expected from the methods he had to go by."

Finding the Asiatic side appeared to be destitute of timber, they again made across to America, with the intention of settling the position of the channel which separates the island Alaska from the mainland, and on 3rd September passed the Indian town near to which they had anchored on the 10th of the previous month. On the 8th they anchored off the south end of Alaska, and noted land having the appearance of islands to the eastward, but the water was too dangerously shallow for the ships. A supply of drift-wood, entirely fir, was obtained in a small bay near Cape Denbigh, but as the anchorage was very exposed, no time was wasted in watering. Whilst the boats' crews were at work Cook went for a short walk, and saw the first timber growing that had been seen since June, chiefly spruce, and none more than six or eight inches in diameter; an undergrowth of birch, willow, and alder rendered progress very difficult. The open ground was covered with heath and other plants, some of which produced berries in abundance. A family

of natives came to where the wood party was at work, and amongst them was a cripple, who was so deformed that Cook says he was unable to look at him a second time. From these people they obtained about four hundred pounds of fresh fish for four knives made out of an old iron hoop. Cook gave a child a few beads, "on which the mother fell a-crying, then the father, then the other man, and at last, to complete the concert, the child; but this musick continued not long."

Burney says that the houses here were built of timber and thatched, and some of them even had floors. The berries obtained, he gives as currants, hurtleberries, crow, and partridge berries, "and a plant which drinks as well as tea, known in Newfoundland as Indian tea." He also notes that from some canoes that came from the south they obtained trout and other fish.

Sending King with two boats to look for a passage to the north, between where they were anchored and the mainland, Cook moved his position to the other side of Cape Denbigh, where they found a few inhabitants of a similar race to those on the Asiatic side, who had only a few dried fish for exchange. The crews were set to work to gather berries, cut brooms and spruce; and a fair supply of grass and vegetables was obtained. Plenty of geese, bustard, snipe, and partridge were seen, but they were very wild, and as there was no cover, it was not possible to get a shot at them. When King returned, he reported that he had proceeded some distance up an inlet, which received the name of Norton Sound, after Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the House of Commons, and landing on the west side, had seen from a hill top that the inlet terminated in a small river.

As the result of seventy-seven sets of observations, Cook fixed the position of his first anchorage as 197° 13′ E., 64° 31′ N. He was thus particular as he

wished to decide whether his observations or the chart drawn by Mr Stocklin, with which he was provided, were the most correct. Whilst anchored here, he determined that he would not winter in any of the northern ports, as it would necessitate the crews being idle for six or seven months, so he fixed on the Sandwich Islands as the best place at which to recruit. Burney points out that King's trip up Norton Sound proves what had been previously considered an island, to be a part of the American continent, and therefore the distance across Behring's Straits was reduced to fourteen leagues.

After leaving the neighbourhood of Cape Denbigh, they were much troubled by shoal water, and in 63° 15′ N., 190° 30′ E., the sea was found to be much discoloured and distinctly fresher, so it was concluded that some large river emptied itself in the immediate neighbourhood. On 23rd September Gore's Island was discovered, which, it was afterwards proved, was quite unknown to the Russian traders. No convenient place having been found for replenishing their supply of water, the course was laid for Samgoonoodha Harbour; but on the 24th a very heavy gale sprang up, and the *Resolution* again began to leak so badly that one pump had to be constantly kept at work, assisted by occasional bailing to keep it under. On 3rd October Samgoonoodha was reached, and the carpenters at once got to work on the leak, which was found to be of considerable extent, and the remainder of the crews were employed in getting water and picking berries, of which they found a good supply. At the same time an abundance of halibut, trout, and salmon was obtained, the first being the favourite amongst the men.

"On the 8th by the hand of an Indian, Derramoushk, I received a very singular present considering the place, it was a rye loaf or rather a pie made in the form of a

loaf, for some salmon highly seasoned with pepper, etc., was in it. He had the like present for Captain Clerke, and a note for each of us written in a language none of us could read. We, however, had no doubt but this present was from some Russians in our neighbourhood, and sent to these our unknown friends by the same hand a few bottles of rum, wine, and porter which we thought would be as acceptable as anything we had besides, and the event proved we were not mistaken. I also sent along with Derramoushk and his party, Corporal Ledyard of the Marines, an intelligent man, in order to gain some further information, with orders, if he met with any Russians, or others, to endeavour to make them understand that we were English, Friends, and Allies."

Ledyard, who had volunteered for the duty, returned on the 10th, bringing with him three Russian sailors, who appeared to be intelligent men and ready to give all information possible, but as there was no interpreter it was difficult to understand anything thoroughly. As far as Cook could make out, one of them stated that he had been out with Behring, but he appeared to be too young. Charts were shown and compared, and they promised to bring a chart of the islands that lay between that place and Kamtschatka. They remained on the *Resolution* all night, and after paying the *Discovery* a visit went away seeming very well satisfied with the treatment they had received. They all appeared to have a great admiration for Behring, and Ledyard reported they had a sloop which they said was his ship. He said that he understood that there were several settlements, besides the one to which he had been, employing altogether about four hundred Russians.

On the 14th, when Cook and Webber were at an Indian village a little way from the ships, a Russian landed from a canoe which contained three persons, and was accompanied by twenty or thirty single canoes. A small tent was rigged up for the Russian, and his companions constructed shelters with their paddles and

canoes which they covered with grass, so that the inhabitants of the village were at no trouble to find them lodgings. This man whom Cook calls "Ismyloff" (Ismailoff?) was the chief of the traders in that part. He invited Cook to join him at his meal, and gave him of his best, namely, dried salmon and berries; and Cook says he felt no small mortification in not being able to converse with him in any other way than by signs assisted by figures and other characters, which latter, however, he found a great help. Ismyloff proved to be well acquainted with the geography of the district, and with the different discoveries made by the Russians, and at once pointed out errors that had been made in the modern maps. He said that he had been with Lieutenant Lindo's expedition, going as far north as Tchukotskoi Nos, and seeing Clerke's Island, but when Cook found that he either could not, or would not, say what else the expedition had done during the two years they had been away, he began to be doubtful if he had really been there. Ismyloff also gave them to understand that the Russians had made several attempts to obtain a footing on the American shore, but had always been driven off by the Indians, and two or three of their leaders had been killed. He spoke of a sledge expedition in 1773, to three large islands opposite the Kolyma River, which Cook thought might be the one mentioned by Müller. He also said that, on 12th May 1771, he had sailed from Bolscheretskoi to one of the Kurile Islands named Mavickan, where there is a Russian settlement. Thence he went to Japan, but as the Japanese found they were Christians, they were ordered away. Thence they sailed to Canton, and from there to France on board a French ship. From France he went to Petersburg, and then was again sent out to Alaska. He seemed perfectly clear as to his dates and put them on paper, but Cook was inclined to be sceptical, chiefly, it would appear, because he

had not managed to pick up any French, "not even the names of the commonest articles," though he had been for a great length of time amidst French people.

He stayed all night, and after dining with Clerke, left them, promising to return with some charts he had in manuscript. This he did on the 19th, and without any difficulty permitted copies of his charts to be taken. The first one showed the Asiatic coast down as far as 41° N., together with the Kurile Islands and Kamtschatka. Ismyloff informed Cook that since the chart had been drawn, Captain Irkuchoff had explored from Okhotsk and the Amur to Japan, and that he, Ismyloff, had corrected a great part of the coast of Kamtschatka. From the description of the instrument he had used, it was believed to have been a theodolite. The second map was the most interesting to the English explorers, as it comprehended all the discoveries made by the Russians to the east of Kamtschatka, but, excluding the voyages of Behring and Tcherikoff, these amounted to very little. Ismyloff said that the position and number of the islands between Kamtschatka and America had been well ascertained, and he struck out about one-third of them as being non-existent, and altered the position of several others considerably, having determined them himself. Cook found, by observation, that the difference between the longitudes of the Bay of Awatscha and the Harbour of Samgoonooda was greater by five and a half degrees than that given on the Russian map, and he was afraid that this difference might be carried through the chart. The latitudes were also found in some places to be incorrect, but not to any great extent.

Ismyloff remained with them till the 21st, and on leaving gave Cook letters for the Governor of Kamtschatka and the Commandant of Petropaulowsk. Cook, finding that "he was tolerably well versed in

astronomy," presented him with a Hadley's octant, and, though it was the first one he had seen, he soon made himself acquainted with its uses. A letter for the English Admiralty was also entrusted to him to be forwarded, *viâ* Okhotsk or Kamtschatka and Petersburg, as opportunity might offer. This letter and a chart of the northern coasts were duly received in London the following year.

An attempt was made to get to sea on 22nd October, but was unsuccessful owing to contrary wind, and in the afternoon they were visited by another Russian, Jacob Ivanovitch, the commander of a small trading vessel. He appeared well informed as to what they would be able to obtain at Petropaulowsk, but said that everything necessary would be found very scarce and very expensive. This man, Cook understood, was the one who would have charge of his letter for London, and as he was very anxious to have something to show Major Behm, the Governor, as a proof that he had really seen Cook, he was presented with a small spy-glass. During their enforced stay several of the officers visited the settlement, which they found consisted of a large dwelling-house and two stone-huts. The Russians lived in the upper end, some Kamtschatkadales in the centre, and some of the natives, who appeared to be slaves, at the lower end. Their food was the same throughout, viz., the produce of the sea and a few wild roots, the only difference being that the Russians made their food more savoury than the others, and Cook particularly notes that he had eaten whale's flesh of their cooking which he thought very good, and that they made "a kind of pan-pudding" of pounded salmon-roe that was no bad substitute for bread, of which article they were able but seldom to partake. They drank nothing but the juice of berries and pure water, and their clothes consisted of skins, excepting those of the chief men, who wore blue calico

frocks, and some few had silk shirts. As for the natives Cook says:

"To all appearance they are the most peaceable and inoffensive people I ever met with, and as to honesty, they might serve as a pattern to the most civilised nation upon earth."

This, he thought, was owing to their subjection to the Russians, for if the latter were properly understood, they had to make some very severe examples before they were brought to order. However this may be, they were then living together in harmony, and the Indians on the islands appeared to enjoy liberty, and their property, unmolested, though there was reason to believe they paid tribute to the Russians. Burney says the natives appeared contented, but the Russians allowed them no arms but their fishing spears, and that they obtained fire by striking two stones together that had been rubbed over with brimstone. They used straw for fuel, as the driftwood they obtained was only sufficient for building and repairs. He also says that some of the officers purchased boots made of whale's gut and soled with sea-horse hide for some rum.

At length, on 26th October, they got away with the intention of proceeding direct to the Sandwich Islands to refresh the crews, and then, when the season was far enough advanced, to return to Kamtschatka and resume the search for the northern passage, or, if that were found impossible, to continue the survey of the two coasts and intervening seas. Clerke was given his rendezvous in case of separation. First, was the Sandwich Islands, and secondly, about the middle of May, Petropaulowsk. During the first four or five days at sea they had a very heavy gale, and were unable to get clear of the islands, and on 28th October, Burney says the fore and main tacks on the *Discovery* carried away, unfortunately killing J. M'Intosh, A.B.,

on the spot, and seriously injuring the boatswain and two others. On 2nd November the weather moderated, and they were able to make their course, and on the 25th land was sighted in 20° 57′ N., 203° E. in the form of a "saddle hill whose summit appeared above the clouds," from which the land fell away in a gentle slope till it terminated in a steep, rocky coast against which the sea broke in a heavy surf. Some people were seen, and a few houses and plantations, and the whole country appeared well-wooded and watered.

Orders were at once issued on both ships, that the usual limitations as to trading were to be strictly enforced; that is, trading was to be conducted by specially appointed officers, and no curiosities were to be purchased before the ships had received a satisfactory amount of supplies.

Very shortly some canoes were seen coming off, and the ships bringing to, the occupants were easily persuaded to come on board. They proved to be the same race as the inhabitants of what Cook speaks of as the leeward islands, and appeared to be aware of the previous visit of the ships. Only a small supply of cuttle-fish, fruit, and roots was obtained, but they were informed that there was plenty more to be obtained on shore. The following day a good many people came off who brought bread-fruit, potatoes, plantains, and some small pigs, which they readily exchanged for nails or iron tools. The island was found to be called Mowee by the natives. On the 30th when off the east end, a chief named Terreeoboo, came off, bringing a present of two or three small pigs, and fruit was purchased from some of the accompanying canoes. The chief remained for about two hours, and then all left the ship except some six or eight, who stayed all night in their canoes, which were towed along by their visitors. In the course of the evening Owhyhee was sighted, and they were greatly surprised

to see the mountains, which are of no great height, covered with snow. Next day some natives came off who were rather shy at first, but in a little time were persuaded to come on board, and afterwards to go ashore and bring off trade. They soon returned, bringing others with them, none empty-handed, so there was no scarcity of pigs and fruit.

On 4th December Cook and King observed an eclipse of the moon, and deduced from it that the longitude was 204° 35′ E., whilst the "watch machine" made it 204° 14′ 45″ E. The next few days were spent plying about to windward in order to get round the island, as the side they were on did not appear so fertile as further to the west, and the shore was more abrupt and very rocky.

Having procured a quantity of sugar cane, and discovered that a strong decoction made a wholesome and palatable beer, Cook ordered more to be brewed in order to save the spirits for the colder climates,

"but," says he, "when the cask came to be broached, not one of my mutinous crew would so much as taste it. As I had no motive for doing it, but to save our spirit for a colder climate, I gave myself no trouble either to oblige or persuade them to drink it, knowing there was no danger of the scurvy so long as we had plenty of other vegetables, but that I might not be disappointed in my views, I gave orders that no grog should be served in either ship. Myself and the officers continued to make use of this beer whenever we could get cane to make it; a few hops, of which we had some on board, was a great addition to it: it has the taste of new malt beer, and I believe no one will doubt but it must be very wholesome, though my turbulent crew alleged it was injurious to their health. They had no better reason to support a resolution they took on our first arrival in King George's Sound, not to drink the spruce beer we made there; but whether from a consideration that this was no new thing or any other reason, they did not attempt to carry their

resolution into execution, and I never heard of it till now. Every innovation whatever, tho' ever so much to their advantage, is sure to meet with the highest disapprobation from seamen. Portable soup and sour kraut were at first both condemned by them as stuff not fit for human beings to eat. Few men have introduced into their ships more novelties in the way of victuals and drink than I have done; indeed, few men have had the same opportunity or been driven to the same necessity. It has, however, in a great measure been owing to such little innovations that I have always kept my people, generally speaking, free from that dreadful distemper, the Scurvy."

This is one of the very few passages in Cook's journals in which he speaks against his crews, but he evidently feels bitterly their ingratitude for the constant and successful care with which he looked after their well-being. This paragraph has been erased in Cook's Journal, by whose hand is uncertain, but King asserts that it must have been done by Gore, as he is quite sure that it was not done by Cook nor by Clerke when the latter took command after Cook's death.

Burney says that whilst near the island of Mowee, the position of which he gives as 20° 58′ N., 204° 9′ E., a chief came on board the *Discovery*, and presented Clerke with a pig and a red feather cloak. He had in his possession two long pieces of iron shaped like skewers, and well pointed, which, it was understood, he had received from some Spaniards. One of his companions crossed his fingers and pointed to the land, appearing to intimate that they had also erected a cross on shore.

When trying to weather the south-east end of the island a heavy gale was encountered, and the leach ropes of the main-topsail, and two topgallant sails gave way, and the sails, "though not half worn," were blown to pieces; a favourable lull soon after occurred, fresh sails were quickly set, and the land

which had been unpleasantly close, was shortly left astern. Cook remarks that he had constantly found that the bolt ropes were too weak, and consequently there had been great unnecessary expense of canvas, and infinite trouble and vexation. He also says that "neither the cordage, canvas, nor indeed hardly any other stores used in the Navy, are equal in quality to those in general use in the merchant service." Of this, he says, he had "incontestable proof last voyage," for when the *Resolution* was purchased, her standing rigging, some of the running rigging, blocks, and sails were also bought, and, though most of them had been in use for fourteen months, they wore longer than any of the things of the same kind put on board new from the king's stores.

"The fore rigging is yet over the masthead, the braceblocks and some others in equal use still in their places and as good as ever. And yet on my return home last voyage, these very blocks were condemned by the yard officers and thrown amongst other decayed blocks, from which they permitted my Boatswain to select them when the ship was again fitted out. These evils are likely never to be redressed, for besides the difficulty of procuring stores for the Crown of equal goodness with those purchased by private people for their own use, it is a generally received opinion amongst Naval officers of all ranks that no stores are equal in goodness to those of the Crown, and that no ships are found like those of the Navy. In the latter they are right, but it is in the quantity and not in the quality of the stores; this last is seldom tried, for things are generally condemned or converted to some other use by such time as they are half wore out. It is only on such voyages as these we have an opportunity to make the trial, when everything is obliged to be worn to the very utmost."

Cook says that the natives of Mowee traded with less suspicion than any others he had met, sending up their wares first into the ship, and then following to

make their bargains. "It is remarkable that they have never once attempted to cheat us in exchange, or once to commit a theft." They seemed to be quite prepared for trading, and to understand exactly both what the ships and they themselves wanted, for they would bring out plenty of provisions, but, if they could not get the price they asked, would take them ashore again. Burney relates that one day one of the natives was swimming near the ships and was attacked by a shark, but, his attention being called to it in time, he turned round, and striking it on the head with his fists frightened it away, and the other Indians took no further notice than to glance round occasionally to see if all was safe.

On 24th December they at last succeeded in getting to windward of the island, but having omitted to signal to the *Discovery* the order for tacking, she stood on, and Cook saw nothing more of her till the 6th of the following month, when she rejoined company.

January 1779 was ushered in with heavy rain, which continued till after ten o'clock, when the sky cleared, the wind freshened, and they approached to within about five miles of the shore and then lay to, trading with the natives, till, having obtained enough fresh provisions for four or five days, they made sail to look for their consort. The next three days were spent working down the coast, occasionally stopping to trade with the natives, some of whom came out as much as fifteen miles from land; their chief article of commerce was salt, which was found to be of very good quality.

On 5th January they rounded the southern point of the island and lay to off a large village, where they were quickly surrounded by canoes laden "with hogs and women"; the latter are not held up as patterns of all the virtues. Having plenty of salt, Cook refused to purchase hogs of less than fifty or sixty pounds' weight, and at first had some difficulty in obtaining

them; but when the natives found that there was no market for the small ones, they were sent ashore and larger ones produced. Vegetables appeared to be scarce, and Cook concluded that either the land was incapable of producing them, or else the crops had been destroyed by some volcanic action, very marked and recent traces of which were to be seen.

"Wednesday 6th January 1779. The next morning the people visited us again, bringing with them the same articles as before. Being near the shore I sent Mr Bligh, the Master, in a boat to sound the coast, with orders to land and look for fresh water. On his return he reported that at two cable lengths from the shore he had no soundings with a 160 fathoms of line; that when he landed he found no fresh water, but rain water lying in holes in the rocks, and that brakish with the spray of the sea, and that the surface of the country was wholly composed of large slags and ashes, here and there partly covered with plants. Between 10 and 11 o'clock we saw the *Discovery* coming round the south point of the Island and at 1 P.M. she joined us, when Captain Clerke came on board and informed me that he had cruized four or five days where we were separated and then plyed round the last part of the Island, but meeting with unfavourable winds, was carried some distance from the coast. He had one of the islanders on board all the time; it was his own choice, nor did not leave them the first opportunity that offered."

The above quotation, copied from Cook's manuscript Journal, prepared with his own hand for publication, is the last entry made. It is a fair sample of the manner in which the entire Journal is written, and certainly does not justify the sneers that have been uttered about bad spelling and bad grammar, the double negative notwithstanding. In respect to his handwriting, spelling, and grammar, he can compare very favourably with his equals in rank, both in the Navy and in civil life, and many of the examples of his misspelling

that have been chosen have been words purposely abbreviated in a manner that was generally accepted at that period.

Burney remarks that the native they had on board the *Discovery* was so sea-sick that he could eat nothing for the first week, and they were afraid that he would die and perhaps create a bad impression amongst his compatriots. He also says that the cause of the separation of the two vessels was a slight accident which happened to the rigging of the *Discovery* and caused her to drop behind her consort.

They stood off and on along the coast, occasionally obtaining small quantities of provisions, but not sufficient to prevent their having to use some of their stores, till on the 17th, at daybreak, a large bay opened up, and Mr Bligh with a boat from each ship was sent to examine it. Almost as soon as he left, large numbers of canoes came out laden with provisions; in his rough Journal Cook estimates that there were not less than a thousand round the ships at one time, none of their occupants being armed in any way. A few acts of thieving took place, one man going off with the rudder of a boat; and the loss was not discovered in time to recover it. Cook thought this would be a good opportunity to show the natives what fire-arms were, so he ordered two or three muskets and as many four-pounders to be fired over the escaping canoe, but says "as it was not intended that any of the shot should take effect, the Indians seemed rather more surprised than frightened."

Burney says that on their arrival in this bay (Karakakoa Bay) the crews were glad to find themselves in a safe harbour once more after a cruise of nearly eight weeks in sight of land; they were accompanied to their anchorage by

"an immense fleet of canoes, near 800 according to those who took the pains to count; the people on board

these were not more numerous than those who, having no canoes, swam off to us from the shore as soon as we anchored."

The ships were soon so crowded (only ladies being at first admitted) that it took a quarter of the crews to keep the decks sufficiently clear for the working of the ship. He also says that the *Discovery's* decks were so leaky that they had not ventured to wash them for three weeks, and her sails, cordage, and rigging were much out of repair. Some cordage made from the bark of the paper tree was obtained and was found to be fairly satisfactory. The people turned out to be as great thieves as in most of the islands they had visited, and he says that soon after their anchoring, the lids of the coppers on the *Resolution* were missing, and the rigging of the *Discovery* was much cut about for the sake of the iron.

The following extract is from the rough Journal kept by Cook, and is his last entry—perhaps the last words he ever wrote:

"Sun. 17. Fine pleasant weather and variable faint breezes of wind. In the evening Mr Bligh returned and reported that he had found a bay in which was good anchorage and fresh water, tolerable easy to come at. Into this bay I resolved to go to refit the ships and take in water. As the night approached the Indians retired to the shore, a good [many] however desired to sleep on board, curiosity was not their only motive, at least not with some of them, for the next morning several things were missing, which determined me not to entertain so many another night. At 11 A.M. anchored in the bay which is called by the natives . . . (in pencil written by another hand, Karakakoa) in 13 fathoms of water over a sandy bottom, and a quarter of a mile from the N.E. shore. In this situation the South point of the bay bore S. ¼ W. and the North point W. ¼ S. Moored with the stream anchor and cable to the Northward. Unbent the sails and struck yards and topmasts. The ships very much crowded

with Indians and surrounded by a multitude of canoes. I have nowhere in this sea seen such a number of people assembled at one place, besides those in the canoes all the shore of the bay was covered with people and hundreds were swimming about the ships like shoals of fish. We should have found it difficult to have kept them in order had not a chief or servant of Terreeoboo's, named Parea, now and then (shewn) his authority by turning or rather driving them all out of the ship.

"Among our numerous visitors, was a man named Touahah who we soon found belonged to the church, he introduced himself with much ceremony, in the course of which he presented me with a small pig, two cocoanuts and a piece of red cloth which he wrapped round me. In this manner all or most of the chiefs or people of note introduce themselves, but this man went further, he brought with him a large hog and a quantity of fruits and roots all of which he included in the present. In the afternoon I went ashore to view the place accompanied by Touahah, Parea, Mr King and others; as soon as we landed Touahah took me by the hand and conducted me to a large Morai, the other gentlemen with Parea, and four or five more of the natives followed."

Burney gives the name of Terreeoboo as Kerriaboo, and his title as Areetabee. He says that this chief was away from the place at the time of their arrival, but that a friend of his, armed with a white stick, was very useful in assisting Parea, whom Cook had requested to go over to the *Discovery* to keep order, and also to recover some of the things that had been stolen. Parea even went so far as to flog some of the thieves who had been allowed to escape, to seize their canoes, and in fact took every opportunity to show his authority.

Some writers, more particularly those specially interested in Mission work, have asserted that Cook permitted himself to be treated as a god, and a most grotesque description has been given of the natives crawling about after him on their hands and knees,

in thousands, as a special mark of adoration. Burney states that the marks of honour that were conferred on him were the same as those conferred on any one of their own great chiefs, and Mr King, who with Mr Bayley accompanied Cook ashore, distinctly says:

"The crowd which had collected on the shore, retired at our approach; and not a person was to be seen, except a few lying prostrate on the ground, near the huts of the adjoining village."

In fact, in the writings of those who were actually present, and who were consequently best able to judge, there is nothing whatever to suggest the idea that Cook or any of them thought he was being treated differently from any other great chief and man.

King describes the Morai, to which they were taken on landing by four men, as being about forty yards long by twenty broad, and fourteen feet high, the top flat, well paved, and surrounded by a wooden railing. An old building stood in the centre from which a stone wall ran to a fence dividing the top into two parts. On the landward side were five poles, upwards of twenty feet high, supporting an irregular kind of scaffold, and in the half nearest the sea were two small houses with a covered communication. The visitors were conducted to the top of the Morai, where they were met by a young man who presented Cook with two hideous images having red cloth wound round them, and, after a sort of hymn had been chanted, they were taken to where the five poles were erected. Here there were twelve images arranged in a semicircle round a table on which lay sugar-cane, cocoanuts, bread-fruit, plaintains, and sweet potatoes; and the whole was surmounted by a pig very much decomposed. Koah, whom Cook calls Touahah, placed the Captain near to the scaffolding, and then, taking up the pig, held it towards him and proceeded to make a long speech. At its conclusion the

pig was allowed to fall on the ground, and by signs Cook was requested to accompany Koah in a partial ascent of the rotten scaffold. A procession of ten men provided with a live hog and a large piece of red cloth having ascended the Morai and prostrated themselves, the young man who had first received the Englishmen took the cloth and handed it up to Koah, and he wrapped it round Cook, as he was clinging to his elevated but not very safe position on the scaffold. The hog was next offered to Cook, and a long address was chanted by Koah and the young man, sometimes in concert and sometimes singly. When this duet was finished the pig was allowed to fall, and Cook and the priest Koah descended and returned to the semicircle of images, Koah on the way snapping his fingers at those he passed, and making remarks to them which were understood to be sarcastic, till he reached the centre one, when he stopped, prostrated himself before it, kissed it, and requested Cook to do the same. The whole party then went into the other part of the Morai, and Cook was seated between two images with his arms stretched out, Koah supporting one and King the other. A second procession of the natives then came up bringing with them a baked hog and other food, which they presented with much ceremony. The meat was cut up and kava prepared in the usual fashion, whilst Kaireekeea, Koah's young assistant, chewed a piece of cocoanut, wrapped it in cloth, and rubbed it over Cook's face, head, shoulders, and arms. The kava was then tasted, and Koah and Parea pulled pieces of meat off the cooked pig, put them into the mouths of the two officers. King says that as Parea was particularly cleanly in his person he did not feel much objection to this operation, but Cook, remembering Koah and the offering of the putrid hog, was unable to swallow a mouthful, "and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished, when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed

it for him." After this ordeal Cook put an end to further proceedings by distributing some small presents amongst the attendants, and returning to his ship. King remarks that though the meaning of the whole ceremony could only be a matter of conjecture, it was, without doubt, expressive of very high respect to the person of Captain Cook, and the title of "Orono" which was conferred on him, and has been quoted as evidence that he was looked upon as a god by the natives, was also applied to at least one if not more of their own chiefs. May not this curious ceremony have been a sort of naturalisation of Cook, and through him as the acknowledged leader, of the whole of their visitors?

The following day King took a small party on shore to establish the observatory, and a small potato field near the Morai was placed under "tabu" for the purpose, and thus comparative privacy was secured for them. From the 19th to the 24th the crews were kept busily employed in repairing the rigging, caulking the ships' sides and decks, and salting the pigs they had purchased, in which last operation they were very successful. Near the observatory was a collection of huts inhabited by the attendants in charge of the Morai, and when Cook visited them he was again received with ceremony, being clothed in red cloth, and receiving a present of a pig and some kava; and during the remainder of the ship's stay one of these attendants or priests was always in attendance to see that proper respect was paid him. These people also provided daily, pigs and vegetables to the party at the observatory, even more than they could consume, and several canoe-loads of provisions were sent off to the ships. On making enquiries it was learnt that the expense of all these gifts was borne by Koah, and no return was demanded.

On 24th January a "tabu" was placed over the bay, and no supplies were to be obtained, the reason given,

being, that the King Terreeoboo was expected. This sudden cessation of the market left the crews without vegetables, and the next day an attempt was made to persuade the natives to go off to the ships, and as a chief was seen driving them back again, a musket shot was fired over his head, with the result that "refreshment" was to be obtained as before. Burney says that the "tabu" was placed on the ships because Parea saw a native sell a pig on the *Resolution* for less than he thought ought to have been given for it, and as he was pushed on one side and told not to interfere when he remonstrated about it, he went to the priests and complained, with the result that trading was stopped. Burney, however, admits that this was not the reason given by the natives, and also states that trading was resumed on Terreeoboo's arrival on the 25th.

When the king arrived, he, accompanied by his wife and children, paid a private visit to the *Resolution*, remaining on the ship for some time. He was the same chief they had seen at Mowee. The next day he, accompanied by several important men, made a state visit, all of them being dressed in rich feather cloaks, and armed with long spears and daggers. Koah also attended in a canoe in which were other priests and some large idols made of basket-work covered with feathers, and their curiously distorted faces adorned with pearl-shell eyes and dogs' teeth. A third canoe was filled with pigs and vegetables, that were afterwards presented to Cook. These canoes paddled round the ships, the priests singing in most solemn fashion, and then returned to shore without any of the occupants having boarded either ship. Cook immediately followed them ashore, and Mr King, who was in command at the observatory, turned out his guard, saluted Terreeoboo, and conducted him into the tent, where he seated himself for a few moments, and then rising took off his cloak and helmet and placed them on Cook, at the

same time ordering five or six more, of great value, to be spread at his feet. Hogs, sugar-cane, cocoanuts, and bread-fruit were then brought in, and this portion of the ceremony was closed by Cook and Terreeoboo exchanging names as a special mark of friendship, and the presentation by a deputation of priests, of the provisions in the canoe which had accompanied them to the ship. One of the king's nephews, called by Mr King Maiha-Maiha, was present on this occasion, and was afterwards known to the world by the name of Kamehameha I.

As many of the chiefs as the pinnace would carry, were afterwards taken to the *Resolution*, where they were received with every mark of respect, and Terreeoboo was duly invested with a linen shirt, and presented with Cook's own sword. During the whole of this visit and the previous ceremonial, no canoes, excepting those taking a part in the proceedings, were to be seen in the bay; and the natives, other than those actually taking part, either stayed in their houses or remained prostrate on the ground, and Burney says that whenever Terreeoboo went anywhere in state he was invariably received with prostrations similar to those with which Cook had been greeted on first landing. An "Indian" died in a house near the camp, and watch was kept to see what became of the body, but it was carried off very quietly during the night. Though the people were all very friendly and hospitable, and showed their visitors great kindness, yet they could not be restrained from stealing, some of them going so far as to extract the sheathing nails out of the ships' sides, and one who was caught red-handed was treated to a flogging in hopes of putting a stop to such depredations, but without much effect.

On the 28th Clerke, who had up to then been confined to his ship by bad health, paid his first visit to the shore, and was received by the king with the same formalities

as Cook had been; and though his visit was quite unexpected he received a present of thirty large hogs, and as much fruit and vegetables as his crew could eat in a week. Terreeoboo afterwards visited the *Discovery* in state, taking with him more presents for Clerke, similar to those received by Cook, and in the afternoon paid a private call in a small canoe with three paddles only, one of which he wielded himself. On this last occasion there were no prostrations by the natives, but if any of them met their chief, they simply got out of his way if no service was required of them.

Several excursions were made to the interior during the stay, and the land was found to be chiefly volcanic, in some places the rock had "run like glass" and was full of cavities; but about two miles away there was good land laid out in plantations extending for some distance towards the mountains. One party made a determined endeavour to reach the high land, but though they were away six days, and were afforded every assistance by the inhabitants, they did not succeed in penetrating to a greater distance than about twenty miles, owing to the impracticable nature of the country. They saw very few villages and a few houses where the keepers of the plantations lived. Burney says that the manners, customs, and language of the natives were much like those of the other South Sea Islands they had visited, but they were much less cleanly in their persons, and more savage in their appearance. Their houses were similar to those at Atoui, dark and unpleasant, and many of the old chiefs were suffering from a skin disease which caused them to be covered with scales like fishes—the result of excessive kava drinking—and it was found to be looked upon as a mark of distinction. At first the best articles for trading purposes were beads or buttons sewn on to strips of cloth, so that they could be worn on the wrist, and small iron adzes made after the pattern of their own; but latterly iron spikes were made into

daggers like their wooden ones, and from eighteen to thirty inches in length.

The ships being very short of firewood, and there being none growing within a mile and a half of the sea, Mr King received orders on the 30th to try and purchase the fence that surrounded the top of the Morai. He says that at first he hesitated as he

"was apprehensive that even the bare mention of it might be considered by them (the priests) as a piece of shocking impiety. In this, however, I found myself mistaken. Not the smallest surprise was expressed at the application, and the wood was readily given, even without stipulating for anything in return."

As he saw the sailors were carrying away the figures as well, Mr King spoke to Koah on the subject, and he raised no objection whatever, except that the centre one might be returned, and of course this was at once done. Burney says: "We obtained two launch loads of firewood for each ship, a most seasonable supply, as we had been four months since we wooded."

On the 31st January a seaman named William Watman, or Whatman, who belonged to the gunner's crew, died from a stroke of paralysis. He was very much attached to Captain Cook, and had sailed with him in his previous voyage, after having been for twenty-one years before that in the Marines. He had been admitted to Greenwich Hospital after the return of the *Resolution* from her first voyage, but, when he heard that his old captain was going out again, he at once left and rejoined the ship. He was buried in the Morai, and a wooden post with an inscription on it was placed over his remains. Some writers consider that this was an error of judgment on the part of Cook, and contributed greatly to the exasperation against him, and that he should have been quietly taken out to sea for burial; but Mr King distinctly states that it was done

by Terreeoboo's special desire, and with as much ceremony as circumstances would permit. The funeral was watched with great interest by the priests, who, when the grave was being filled in, advanced and threw in a pig, some cocoanuts and plantains, and for the three following nights sacrificed pigs and performed their usual ceremonies of hymns and prayers, continuing till daybreak.

Several entertainments of dancing and boxing were given to the visitors, but Burney says that they were not so satisfactory, and in the latter the contestants were not so good tempered as those they had seen in the Friendly Islands. The combatants entered the ring, and moved about in a grotesque fashion, clenching their fists and distorting their faces to make themselves appear formidable; their blows were heavy, but ill-directed, and their guarding feeble. When one was knocked down the bout was over, and, if the pair seemed very unequal, a friend of the weaker would push him on one side and take his place. In return for these entertainments a display of fireworks from both ships was given, which created considerable astonishment, admiration, and terror; particularly the discharge of rockets.

Several enquiries had been made as to the time of their probable departure, and hints were dropped that it would be well if they left soon as supplies were beginning to run short; but at the same time they were informed that if they returned at the time of the next bread-fruit season their wants should be again supplied. When the natives were told that the ships were to leave in two days, that is on 3rd February, Terreeoboo issued a proclamation that the people were to bring such supplies as would enable him to make a great present on their departure. On the appointed day Captain Cook and Mr King were invited to Koah's residence by Terreeoboo, and on their arrival found the

things they had given to the natives laid out on the ground, and at a short distance a large quantity of vegetables of every kind, and near them a large herd of pigs. The articles of exchange were then presented to the king, who set on one side about one-third, presumably for his own use, and then the vegetables and pigs were handed over to Cook. Mr King says: "We were astonished at the value and magnitude of this present, which far exceeded everything of the kind we had seen, either at the Friendly or Society Islands."

The camp near the Morai was then broken up and the instruments, tents, etc., were taken on board ship, and, as soon as the sailors left the ground, the natives rushed in, hunting for anything that might have been left behind. Some of the inhabitants were anxious that Mr King, who seems to have had the happy knack of making himself a favourite with all natives with whom he came in contact, should stay behind, and when he told them his captain would not permit him to do so, they tried to persuade him to hide in the mountains till the ships were gone. When this also was declined, Terreeoboo and Koah waited on Cook, whom it appears they thought was King's father, and begged that he should be allowed to remain; but they were informed that he could not be spared, but that when they returned he would see what could be done.

At night a house near the Morai, in which the sail-makers had been working, caught fire, and together with one or two more was burnt to the ground. Burney says that it was caused by the natives looking for an old knife which one of the sailors had lost, and had said might be kept by the finder. Besant places this fire at a later date, and says that it was caused intentionally by the natives because they were offended by the sailors having enticed some of their women there, and infers that Gilbert is his authority; but in the extracts he

publishes from Gilbert's log there is nothing of the kind said, and no one else refers to any other fire near the Morai till after Cook's death, when some of the priests' houses near the watering-place were burnt to prevent them being used as shelter from which to attack the working parties. Besant also, when speaking of the supplies of food which the ships received from the natives, says that Cook "in return gave them an exhibition of fireworks." This display, as has been mentioned before, was given in acknowledgment of an entertainment by the natives, and he entirely overlooks the fact that the so-called "presents" were invariably followed by one in return, and it was quite usual for the person giving anything to specify what he wished for, and in none of the accounts of the voyages is there any sign of marked discontent at these repayments made by the travellers.

CHAPTER XVIII

1779-1780—THIRD VOYAGE—*CONCLUDED*

On 4th February the ships unmoored and sailed out of the bay, followed by a large number of canoes, steering to the north for the purpose of surveying the coast, in hopes of finding a better anchorage than that at Karakakoa. The wind was very light, and progress consequently slow, giving Terreeoboo the opportunity to send off a further present of pigs and vegetables. After a time a bay was discovered, and Bligh, accompanied by Koah, who in honour of the visitors had changed his name to "Britannee," was sent off to report on it. On his return he said that the water he had found was not suitable for watering purposes, and that a reef of coral rocks extended some distance out to sea, rendering the anchorage unsafe. In the meantime a gale had sprung up, and the canoes that had accompanied them so far, beat such a hurried retreat that they left a great many behind on the ships, principally women; Bligh on his return picked up a woman and two men whose canoe had been upset. About midnight the wind was so strong that the fore and main topsails were both split; it then died away, and the morning was so fine that they were able to bend fresh sails, but the canoes would not venture out for those they had left behind, who were all, without exception, suffering from sea-sickness and anything but happy. In the afternoon a canoe containing two men and a child was picked up, having

been driven off the land the previous day, and unable to return. A second gale came on at night, compelling them to double reef topsails and send down top-gallant yards. At daybreak the foremast was found to have given way, and to be in such a bad state that it was absolutely necessary to repair it at once, and in order to do so the mast must be unstepped.

After some hesitation, for he fully recognised that the place must be nearly denuded of surplus provisions, Cook decided to return to Karakakoa, no other convenient place being known. On the 11th, therefore, they dropped anchor in the same place as before, and the remainder of that day, and the following one, they were busily employed in unstepping the mast and getting it ashore, when it was found to be rotten at the heel, as well as sprung at the head. Wood that had been cut at Eimeo for anchor-stocks was found suitable for fishing the head, and the work proceeded rapidly; the priests making the camp "tabu" as before, so that there should be no interference with the workmen. As the work was likely to occupy two or three days, Messrs King and Bayley took the astronomical instruments ashore, and pitched the tents on the Morai, having with them a guard of seven marines. The sailmakers were also established in a house lent to them by the priests.

When the ships arrived in the bay, it had been noticed that the place seemed very quiet; hardly a canoe was to be seen, and none came out to the ships. This was a matter of some surprise when contrasted with their first reception, and the very friendly way in which they had parted. On a boat being sent ashore, they were informed that Terreeoboo was absent, and had placed the whole bay under "tabu." This, in the light of what afterwards occurred, was looked upon by some of the officers as a very suspicious circumstance, but Mr King, who having been constantly in the camp on shore, had more intercourse with the

natives than any of the other officers, appears to be thoroughly satisfied that "they neither meant, nor apprehended any change of conduct." Burney says that on the 12th Terreeoboo and some of his chiefs paid them a visit at the bay, and asked many questions about their reasons for coming back again, and did not seem well satisfied with the answers he received.

Everything went on smoothly till the afternoon of the 13th, when the officer in charge of the watering party complained to Mr King that some of the chiefs were driving away the men he had engaged to assist in rolling the casks down to the boats, and he also said their general conduct seemed suspicious. Mr King accordingly ordered a marine, with side arms only, to return with the officer to assist in restoring order. Soon afterwards the officer returned to King, and reported that the natives were arming themselves with stones and getting very noisy, so Mr King accompanied by a marine with his musket, went to the spot, and succeeded in putting a stop to further disturbance, and those who chose to assist the waterers were permitted to do so. Just as things had quieted down, Cook came on shore, and King reported what had occurred. He was at once ordered to fire with ball if he received any insolence, or if stones were thrown, so the sentries loaded with ball instead of small shot. Soon after this had been done the camp was alarmed by the sound of shots from the *Discovery*, and a canoe was observed making for the shore closely pursued by one of the ship's boats. Cook, King, and a marine ran along the shore to intercept them, but were too late, as the occupants of the canoe landed, and escaped before they reached the spot. However, they continued to search for them till it began to get dark, and, as they were about three miles from the camp, they thought it as well to return. Burney says that the commencement of the trouble on the *Discovery*

was caused by a native who stole a pair of carpenter's tongs, jumped overboard with them, and placed them in a canoe, which at once paddled off. The thief, however, was not quick enough to get away, but was caught, flogged, and put in irons till the tongs were returned from the shore. The same tongs were again stolen in the afternoon, and the man got away with them, and Edgar, the Master, went after him in the small cutter, being joined by the *Resolution's* pinnace. The thief reached the shore first, and placed the tongs, the lid of a harness cask, and a chisel in a second canoe, which went out and handed them over to Edgar. Parea, who was in Clerke's cabin at the time of the second theft, immediately left the ship and followed the boats ashore, promising to have the tongs returned. Edgar, seeing that Cook and King were running along the shore, and that the thief had got away, thought it was his duty to secure the canoe. Unfortunately, this belonged to Parea, who came up just as it was being pushed off, and endeavoured to regain possession. This was resented by one of the boats' crew, who struck Parea on the head with an oar, knocking him down, and then some of the natives, who up to this had been quietly looking on, began to throw stones, and so roughly handled the sailors in the pinnace, that, being unarmed, they beat a retreat, swimming to some rocks where they were out of reach of the missiles. Edgar and Vancouver who remained on the shore fared badly till Parea, who had by this time recovered from his blow, and apparently forgotten it, ordered his countrymen to stay their hands, and managed to save the pinnace, which otherwise would have been destroyed. He wanted the boats to go back to the ships, but as the oars of the pinnace had been taken away, this was impossible. He then went off to find them, and the stone throwing again commenced as soon as he was out of sight. Edgar started to go to the camp in

hopes that he might see Cook, but some of the natives advised him to follow them, and they would take him to Parea, whom he very soon met carrying one oar, and followed by a man with a broken one, so they were able to make their way to the camp in the boats, being overtaken by Parea in his canoe, bringing Vancouver's cap, which had been lost in the scuffle. Parea was very anxious to know if it would be quite safe for him to venture on board the ships the next day after what had happened, and on being assured that it would, paddled away to see Terreeoboo, apparently perfectly satisfied.

Cook, owing to his pursuit of the thief, did not hear of all the trouble till after dark, when it was too late to take any further steps, but King says he appeared very much disturbed by the news, and remarked: "I am afraid that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures, for they must not be left to imagine that they have gained an advantage over us." He then went on board his ship, and ordered all the natives ashore, whilst Mr King returned to the observatory camp, doubled his sentries, and gave strict orders that he was to be called if any natives were seen about. About eleven o'clock, five were seen prowling round, but finding they were observed they made off, and about an hour afterwards one was seen near the observatory itself, and a sentry fired over his head, upon which he ran off, and they were then left alone. On his way to the ship the next morning for the chronometer, King was informed that the *Discovery's* cutter, which had been moored to the anchor buoy, had been stolen, and he found Cook loading his double-barrelled gun, and preparing a landing party of marines. He informed King that he was going ashore to try to gain possession of some of the principal men in order to keep them on board till the boat was returned, and that he had already sent out boats to prevent any

canoes from leaving the bay, with the intention of destroying them if he could not recover the cutter by more peaceable means. The *Resolution's* "great cutter" was sent off in chase of a large sailing canoe that was making away, and the small cutter went to guard the western point of the bay, whilst Cook himself with the pinnace and launch prepared to go to Kowrowa to try to get Terreeoboo on board the ship. He, and in fact every one else felt perfectly confident that the natives would offer no resistance if they heard but the sound of a single musket.

A little before eight o'clock Captain Cook, accompanied by Lieutenant Phillips, Sergeant Gibson, Corporal Thomas, and seven marines, left the *Resolution* for Kowrowa, and Mr King in a small boat for his camp. The orders the latter received were, to try to quiet the minds of the people near the observatory, to assure them that they would not be hurt, to keep his own men together, and to be on his guard against an outbreak. Having seen that his men were all on the alert, Mr King visited the priests, and explained to them as well as he was able that Terreeoboo would suffer neither personal injury nor indignity, and they appeared to be perfectly satisfied.

Cook, having picked up the *Resolution's* launch, which was commanded by Lieutenant Williamson, landed the marines, and marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect, and asked to see the king and his two young sons, who had been constant visitors to the ships. The two boys soon came forward, and conducted Cook to the hut where their father was, and after a short conversation with him, he was convinced that Terreeoboo was in no way concerned in the loss of the boat. He invited all three to accompany him to the *Resolution*, and Terreeoboo at once consented, and got up to go. However, the boys' mother then came up, and with

a few of the chiefs tried to persuade him not to venture, and at length two of them caught hold of him and forced him to sit down. Meanwhile, a large crowd of natives had gathered round, and Phillips, who throughout the whole affair seems to have acted with coolness and good judgment, drew up his men in a line on the rocks near the edge of the water, about thirty yards from where the king was seated. After trying for some time to persuade the natives to allow their chief, who appeared himself to be perfectly willing, to accompany him to his ship, Cook gave up the attempt, observing to Phillips that it would be impossible to compel them to do so without a great risk of bloodshed. Unfortunately, just at this time, news arrived that the boats on the other side of the bay, in trying to prevent some canoes from getting away, had fired on them, and a chief of the first rank, named Kareemoo, had been killed. The shots had been heard at the village soon after the landing of Cook's party.

The affair was now recognised as very serious, as the women and children were being sent away, and the men were assuming their war mats. One man armed with a stone in one hand, and a large iron spike in the other, came up to Cook, and in an insulting manner threatened him with both weapons. Cook told him to keep quiet, but he became even more insolent, so Cook fired a charge of small shot at him, but did him no injury, as his mats protected him. Several stones were now thrown at the marines, and a chief attempted to stab Phillips, who knocked him down with the butt end of his musket. Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the natives. Burney says, Sergeant Gibson told Cook he had shot the wrong man, whereon he received orders to shoot the right one and did so. A very heavy fire of stones was now opened on the

marines, who replied with a volley, and, before they had time to reload, they were rushed by the natives, and four of the seven were killed, the others being all wounded. Mr Phillips was stabbed between the shoulders, but had fortunately reserved his fire, and before the blow could be repeated, shot his assailant.

Cook at this time was at the water's edge, and had turned round to call to the boats' crews to cease firing and pull in. This is believed to have been the cause of his death, for, whilst facing the natives, none but the man shot by Gibson had offered him actual violence, but when he turned to give orders to the boats he was struck on the head and stabbed in the back, falling with his face in the water. As soon as he fell a great shout arose, and he was dragged ashore, the natives, snatching the dagger from each other, showed savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction.

Phillips and the remainder of the marines at once plunged into the water and made for the boats, and, being covered by musketry fire, they were able to reach them. The lieutenant had succeeded in getting into the pinnace, when he saw one of his men, Private Jackson, who had been struck in the face by a stone which severely injured one eye, struggling in the water, and in great danger of being captured, so he immediately, notwithstanding his own wound, jumped into the sea again, and succeeded in getting his man into the boat, being himself again struck on the head by a stone. The boats, seeing that there was no hope of recovering the bodies of the five who were killed, namely, Captain Cook, Corporal Thomas, and Privates Hinks, Allen, and Fatchett, were ordered to return at once to the ships, from which they had only been absent an hour. Nine stands of arms and Cook's double-barrelled gun and hanger fell into the hands of the natives.

DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK.

From an engraving at the United Service Museum. By permission of the Council.

[*To face p.* 474.

As soon as this serious affair was reported on board, the boats were recalled from the other parts of the bay, and a strong reinforcement was sent to Mr King with orders for him to strike his camp and get the *Resolution's* foremast off to the ship. The Indians were seen assembling to the right of the tents, so the guns were turned on them, and a party was posted on the Morai to cover the place where the mast lay. About one o'clock everything was brought away from the shore, without any further interference from the natives beyond the throwing of a few stones by some of the islanders, who had ventured near under the mistaken idea that their war mats were bullet proof—a mistake that some of them had reason to regret.

Notwithstanding what had occurred, one of the priests who had always been friendly to the English, called by Burney, Kerriakair, remained with them till everything had been removed from the shore, and supplied them with food and water. The natives were observed to be very careful in removing their killed and wounded, and two men were particularly noticed for their courage in removing a body that was under fire. About four o'clock Lieutenant King was sent to the village of Kowrowa with boats, to try to recover the bodies of the English dead, and at first was received with a heavy volley of stones, which, fortunately, fell short. King, displaying a white flag, pulled in shore, whilst the other boats lay off to cover him with their fire if needed, but the stone-throwing was stopped, and the natives also displayed a white flag in reply. It was noticed that they had prepared a number of small stone breast-works as protection against the musketry. In answer to King's demand some of the chiefs promised that the bodies should be delivered the next day, and word to this effect was sent to Captain Clerke, who, as senior officer, had, of course, taken command of the expedition. Koah, the chief

priest, swam off to one of the boats, and getting in, remained with them some time. He explained that the reason the bodies were not handed over at once was that they had been carried away some distance into the country. Burney says:

"At another part of the town, however, the Indians made motions which we thought signified they were cut to pieces, and one fellow came to the water side flourishing Captain Cook's hanger with many tokens of exultation and defiance. Orders came soon after for the boats to return. After dark, a guard boat was stationed to row round the ship lest any of the Indians should swim off and attempt to cut the cables. They were very busy ashore all night, making much noise, running about with lights, and howling, as we supposed over their dead."

On 15th February Captain Clerke formally took command of the *Resolution*, and appointed Lieutenant Gore to the Captaincy of the *Discovery*. During the day Koah visited the ship several times and tried to induce either Clerke or King to go ashore for the bodies, but it was thought inadvisable to run any further risk. In the evening Kerriakair and another native came off in a small canoe, bringing with them a bundle containing the flesh of Cook's thighs, and said that the body had been burnt and the limbs distributed amongst the chiefs. They had brought all the parts they were able to obtain unknown to the others, and Kerriakair strongly advised Clerke not to trust too much to Koah; he said also that the inhabitants of the island were not inclined for peace, with the exception of those residing in the immediate neighbourhood, who would, of course, be the chief sufferers in the case of hostilities. He said that the islanders had had twenty-six killed and a great many wounded. The following day a canoe came out towards the *Resolution*, and one of its occupants stood up and put

on Cook's hat with many marks of contemptuous derision; he was fired on and chased by one of the ships' boats, but managed to make good his escape to the shore, where he was received by his friends with loud shouts of approbation, and a large crowd gathered round, but on three guns being fired they very quickly dispersed.

On the 17th the ships were warped in shore so as to command the watering-place, and the launches were sent for water, the other boats, fully armed, supporting them. They were received by showers of stones from the houses and from behind stone walls, notwithstanding that a musketry fire was kept up on any who exposed themselves, and that several guns were fired from the ships. Koah, however, visited the ships, and again requested some one to go ashore for the bodies; and he offered a pig as a present, but he was sent away and was shortly afterwards seen amongst the stone-throwers. In the afternoon the boats went again for water, and hostilities at once recommenced on the part of the natives, so the boats were ordered to keep clear whilst the guns on the ships were worked for about a quarter of an hour; then the boats' crews landed and set fire to the houses between the watering-place and the Morai, burning about sixty. Six or seven of the natives were killed, and one was taken prisoner and sent on board ship, but was soon afterwards liberated. The water being obtained from a well at the foot of a steep hill, the natives, keeping out of musket shot, rolled large stones down on the working party, who had difficulty in avoiding them. In the evening, about five o'clock, some dozen natives walked down to the beach with white flags and sugar-cane, headed by Kerriakair, who carried a small pig. He said he came as an envoy from Terreeoboo to make peace, and was accordingly taken to the *Resolution*. They learnt from him that the boat had been stolen

by some of Parea's people and had been broken up after Cook's death.

In the night some canoes came off with bread-fruit, sweet potatoes, etc., and the next morning white flags were seen planted round the bay in different places, and the waterers were allowed to go to work unmolested. Kerriakair asked to be permitted to make an offering of a roast pig to one of the images on the Morai, and his request was at once granted. Soon afterwards Koah came off with a present of a hog and some plantains; but was not admitted to either ship, so he went off to the waterers, who also sent him away. He then went to the Morai, where a small party of sailors was posted, and threw stones at them; a couple of shots were fired at him, but he escaped unhurt. Soon after, some natives came down to the shore, one at a time, each carrying sugar-cane, bread-fruit, or other article which they left on the beach, and were later on taken on board. In the afternoon a chief named Eapoo went on board the *Resolution* with a message from Terreeoboo, and remained some time, coming again the next day with a present of hogs, plantains, etc.; and during the night a small quantity of provisions was again purchased from canoes that went out to trade.

On the 20th the foremast of the *Resolution* was put in its place and rigging commenced, and in the middle of the day a large party of the natives marched down in procession to the watering-place, beating drums, yelling and carrying white flags, sugar-cane, hogs, etc. Eapoo was at their head bearing a parcel wrapped up in native cloth and containing some of the bones of Captain Cook. He went off to the *Resolution* with Captain Clerke, and soon afterwards a boat was sent ashore for a present of provisions sent by Terreeoboo. The next day Eapoo again appeared with similar ceremonial, bringing with him the all remaining bones that it was possible to regain. He was accompanied

by Karowa, Terreeoboo's youngest son, and in the afternoon canoes came out with provisions for sale.

"The 21st February. At sunset the *Resolution* fired ten minute guns, with the colours half staff up, when the remains of our late Comm^dr. were committed to the deep."

Lieutenant Williamson was severely blamed by some of his brother officers for cowardice in not going to the assistance of the pinnace at the time of the attack on his captain. He afterwards rose to the rank of captain, and when in command of the *Agincourt* he was tried by court-martial for "disaffection, cowardice, disobedience to signals, and not having done his duty in rendering all assistance possible." On the first two counts he was found not guilty, but guilty on the other two, and was sentenced to "be placed at the bottom of the list of Post-Captains, and be rendered incapable of ever serving on board of any of His Majesty's Ships," not "cashiered" as Besant states, though the sentence seems almost the same in effect.

Ellis, in his "Tour through Hawaii," says that Lieutenant King's account of Cook's death agrees in a remarkable manner with that given by the natives themselves. They did not in any way blame their visitors for what had occurred, and even after his death appeared to have looked upon Cook as a personality superior to themselves. His breastbone and some ribs were long preserved as sacred relics. Ellis says that they thoroughly confirm King's statement that when Cook was struck down he had turned his back on his opponents in order to give instructions to his boats. The same author states in "Polynesian Researches" that in 1832 there were still many living who remembered Cook's visit, and they were agreed that his conduct towards their countrymen was humane.

Mr John Turnbull, who visited the South Pacific

Islands between 1800 and 1804, says that "in Owhyhee the fatal accident which befel Cook is to this day deeply and generally deplored."

In respect to the remains of Captain Cook that were recovered from the savages, Captain Clerke says:

"Upon examining the remains of my late honoured and much-lamented friend, I found all his bones, excepting those of the back, jaw, and feet—the two latter articles E'ar'po brought me in the morning—the former, he declared, had been reduced to ashes with the trunk of the body. As Car'na'care (Kerriakiar) had told us, the flesh was taken from all the bones, excepting those of the hands, the skin of which they had cut through in many places, and salted, with the intention, no doubt, of preserving them; E'ar'po likewise brought with him the two barrels of Captain Cook's gun—the one beat flat with the intention of making a cutting instrument of it; the other a good deal bent and bruised, together with a present of thirteen hogs from Terre'aboo."

The hands, as has before been mentioned, were identified by the scar of the wound he had received from the explosion of his powder flask in Newfoundland, which had almost severed the thumb from the fingers.

On 22nd February the repairs to the *Resolution* having been completed, and a sufficient supply of water taken on board both ships, the anchors were weighed, and they proceeded to sea, clearing the land at about ten o'clock and steering to the north. They touched at one or two of the islands and obtained some fresh supplies of vegetables, but they concluded that the news of their great disaster must have preceded them, as they met with marked incivility on several occasions, and it was greatly owing to the tact and good temper of Mr King that once, at any rate, a second serious affray was avoided. This was at Atoui, where a party had been landed for water, and the natives, who were in

considerable force, made extravagant and insolent demands for heavy payment for each caskful. This, King peremptorily refused, though he at the same time offered to make a considerable present as a mark of friendship. During the discussion a man approaching in an apparently friendly manner, whilst King's attention was attracted elsewhere, managed to wrench his hanger from him and escape with it. King thought it advisable to put up with his loss, and ordered the boats to load up. The loading was at length completed, and all were on board except King, the gunner, and one of the boats' crew who had construed some hasty words used by King into a reflection on his courage, so he refused to precede his officer to the boat which was lying out beyond the surf and to which they would have to swim. The gunner hearing the point of honour raised must needs join in, and also refused to be the first to leave, but at last, seeing natives coming down armed with clubs and spears, they compromised matters by all taking the water together, and Mr King reached the boat first when he saw that the gunner, who was a poor swimmer, was still some way behind and in danger, so he ordered a musket to be fired in order to keep off the enemy, and two men obeyed him; and he says he much regretted to see that one man was apparently seriously wounded. The next day a second party went ashore with an armed guard of forty men from both ships, but it proved unnecessary, as the beach was found deserted and the ground, from the landing to the watering-place, marked off with white flags, having evidently been placed under "tabu." Several chiefs visited the ships the following day, and it was then discovered that the disagreeableness which they had encountered had arisen from quarrels amongst themselves over the ownership of the goats that had been left the previous year, and not from any knowledge of the death of Captain Cook.

On 16th March leave was taken of the Sandwich Islands, and the ships steered to the north-west. On 23rd April Kamtschatka was sighted in 52° 18′ N., 158° 54′ E., very thick weather having been encountered, and the ships had separated several times. To add to their discomfort, the *Resolution* was in such a very leaky condition that the pumps had been in almost constant use since leaving the Sandwich Islands. On 29th April she entered Awatska Bay, and a sharp look-out was kept for the town of St Peter and St Paul, where they hoped to present the letters received from Ismyloff, and to purchase stores and refreshments, of which they stood much in need. A few unpromising looking huts on an narrow point of land were seen, and Mr King was sent on shore with the letters. His landing was a most uncomfortable one, made partly over very rotten ice, which in one place proved so treacherous that he fell through, but fortunately rising clear of the ice he was assisted out by one of his men who was provided with a boat-hook. A sledge was seen making towards them, and they shouted and held up the letters, but were surprised to see it turn about and fly back to the huts.

Soon afterwards a body of armed men, about thirty in number, came towards them under an officer armed with a cane. These men marched them to the village with considerable precaution, occasionally halting to go through some evolutions, and after one of the letters had been opened the other was at once despatched by sledge to the Governor at Bolcheretsk, a distance of about one hundred and thirty-five miles. Mr King was then provided with dry clothes by the man with the cane, who proved to be the sergeant in command of the post, and they were supplied with a very welcome meal. Although they were quite unable to understand each other's language, they managed to gather that nothing could be done till a reply had been received from Bolcheretsk, and that no one till then would

be permitted to visit the ship. Dog sledges were provided for their return, rendering it much easier, and safer, for the dogs instinctively avoided the more dangerous parts.

On 1st May the *Discovery* came in and joined them, moving close alongside. On the 3rd the sledges were seen returning from Bolcheretsk, having completed the journey of two hundred and seventy miles in a little more than two days and a half, but no notice of their return was sent to the ships till the following morning, when a couple of men came down to the edge of the ice and were taken on board by the ships' boats. One of them was a Russian merchant, and the second a German; they were charged with letters from the Governor, Major Behm, written in German. It fortunately turned out that Mr Webber was able to act as interpreter, and he gathered that the cautious reception which they had experienced at the hands of the sergeant-commandant, was owing to the rather unsatisfactory impression conveyed by Ismyloff's letter, for he had represented the two vessels he had seen as very small, and had insinuated that he believed them to be little better than pirates.

As the chance of obtaining the required stores and refreshments at the township of St Peter and St Paul seemed unsatisfactory, it was decided to send a party consisting of Captain Gore, Messrs King and Webber, and the two merchants to Bolcheretsk. Starting on 7th May, after being delayed by the weather for a couple of days, they accomplished their journey in five days—partly by boat and partly by sledge. They received a most cordial welcome from Major Behm and his officers, and were promised that, as far as possible, their wants should be supplied, and that if a list of ships' stores required was left, the Governor would obtain all that he could from Okotsk, to be ready for them on their return from their northern cruise. In the end some 9,000 lb. of flour and twenty head of cattle were

provided, and some handsome presents were made to the officers, consisting of dresses, furs, sugar, and tea, and about 400 lb. weight of tobacco for the sailors, who had been out of that luxury for some time.

For these kindnesses the English could make but little return, and it was with some difficulty the Major could be persuaded to accept even the small presents they were able to give, as he said he was only acting up to what he knew to be the wishes of his Empress, who desired that all her allies should be treated with courtesy. He was greatly pleased to be informed of the discoveries that had been made in the north, and accepted receipts for such stores as had been given, in order that, as he said, they might be sent to Petersburg to show that he had carried out his instructions. At the time of the visit of the ships a large number of the soldiers and inhabitants were found to be suffering very severely from scurvy, and as some measure of return for the great kindness they had received, Captain Clerke put them under the care of his medical officers, and served out supplies of sour kraut and sweet wort made from his stock of malt, with most marked effect: "A surprising alteration soon took place in the figures of most of them; and their speedy recovery was chiefly attributed to the effects of the sweet wort."

Major Behm also informed them that on the day of the arrival of the English party at Bolcheretsk he had received a despatch from the most northerly post on the sea of Okotsk, stating that the tribe of Tschutski, with whom the Russians had long been at feud, had sent in an embassy with offers of friendship and tribute, giving as the reason for their altered sentiments, that they had been visited by two large vessels, which they believed to be Russian, during the preceding summer, and had been received on board with great kindness, and had entered into a league of friendship with their visitors; they therefore thought it their duty to come

in to ratify their treaty formally. These two ships could only have been those of Cook's expedition, as there were none others in the northern waters, and the affair is a marked compliment to his method of dealing with the natives of the new countries he visited.

On 13th June a start was made on a fresh attempt to carry out the orders of the Admiralty, and discover a northern passage to Europe, but, owing to the set of the tides and contrary winds, they were unable to get clear of the coast for some days, and on the morning of the 15th they were both surprised and alarmed by the outbreak of a volcano situated to the north of the bay, and about eight leagues from where they then were. The ships were covered with volcanic dust to a depth of an inch or more. The eruption increased in severity towards the afternoon, and large quantities of cinders as large as hazel nuts, together with some small stones which showed no signs of volcanic action, fell on the decks.

The Asiatic coast was followed up as far as was compatible with the desire to reach Behring Straits at as early a date as possible. On 1st July they were off the Gulf of Anadyr, where fogs and ice began seriously to interfere with their progress, and on the 13th they abandoned the Asiatic for the American side in hopes that they might find more open water. Ill luck, however, still followed them, and they only succeeded in reaching the latitude of 70° 33′ N., some five leagues short of where they had been the previous summer. Finding it impossible to penetrate the fields of ice which appeared to adhere to the land, they again adventured to the Asiatic shore, but were even less successful, and at length, on the 27th, realising that further attempts were useless, and that the ships were suffering very seriously from continual contact with the lumps of loose ice, Captain Clerke determined to make

for Awatska Bay, there to refit as far as possible, and then return to England.

On 10th August, Captain Clerke, whose health had been unsatisfactory from the very commencement of the voyage, and had lately become much worse, was found to be so ill by the doctor that he gave up all hopes of his recovery, and on the 17th Clerke instructed his men that they were in future to take their orders from Lieutenant King. The latter was ordered to make for Awatska Bay, and put the ship into better repair as rapidly as possible. Captain Clerke died on 22nd August, the day before they reached the harbour, and was buried under a tree at the north of the post of St Peter and St Paul on the 29th—the companies of both ships taking part in the ceremony. The Russian garrison turned out in his honour, and the Russian priest read prayers at the grave. He was only thirty-eight years of age.

In consequence of succeeding to the command of the expedition, Captain Gore moved into the *Resolution*, taking with him Lieutenants Burney and Rickman, and gave the vacant commission to Mr Lanyon, Master's Mate of that ship. Lieutenant King was promoted Captain of the *Discovery*, with Williamson and Hervey as Lieutenants, and took with him four midshipmen to assist him with his observations. Mr Bayley went to the *Resolution* in charge of the observations on that ship.

Before sailing, Gore consulted with his officers as to the course to be pursued on leaving their present quarters, and he was gratified to find they were unanimously in agreement with his own views, that considering the condition of the ships and stores, it was inadvisable to make any attempt at further discoveries, but they should proceed at once to the nearest considerable port and there refit as far as possible, and then make the best of their way to England.

Having completed the repairs they were able to

make with the scanty materials procurable, and having obtained a supply of fresh meat, together with a small quantity of flour, sugar, tea, and tobacco, the two ships left the Bay of Awatska, where they had met with such unlooked-for hospitality, on 9th October, and on the 12th sighted the first of the Kurile Islands; but owing to bad weather and contrary winds they were unable to see anything of them. On the 26th Japan was reached near "Cape Nambu, its most northern point," and the coast was followed down at a distance of a few miles until 2nd November. One or two small ships were seen, but no communications were possible as the occupants appeared wishful to give the strangers a wide berth. As bad weather now drove them off the coast, Captain Gore decided that he would not waste time in trying to get back, but made sail for the China coast, and they anchored in Macao Roads on 1st December. Here, according to the strict orders of the Admiralty, all diaries, logs, and notes on the events of the voyage were demanded from the officers and men of the ships, and King says he is perfectly satisfied

"that every scrap of paper containing any transactions relating to the voyage were given up. Indeed, it is doing bare justice to the seamen of this ship to declare that they were the most obedient and best-disposed men I ever knew, though almost all of them were very young, and had never before served in a ship of war."

After some considerable delay, stores were obtained from Canton, Captain King having visited that place for the purpose of making the necessary purchases. Some old English periodicals and newspapers were obtained, which were most acceptable after such a prolonged absence from any place where European news could be obtained. As information of the outbreak of war between England and France was also received, an attempt was made to strengthen the upper

works of the ships in case of accident, notwithstanding that the newspapers they had, published the fact that instructions had been issued by both the French and American governments to their respective fleets, that Captain Cook's expedition was not to be molested.

The seamen managed to dispose of most of the furs they had obtained on the American and Siberian coasts, and King estimates that the value received on board the two ships in money and goods would amount to something like £2,000, and he says that the men were so anxious to return to procure more that they were almost in a state of mutiny.

On 11th January 1780 they started from Macao, saluting the fort with eleven guns, but, having to warp out, they did not get clear till the 14th. On 2nd February they passed the Straits of Sunda, and on the 16th watered at Prince's Island. On 11th April, after an uneventful voyage, the two ships anchored in Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope, and were immediately boarded by Mr Brandt, Commandant of Simon's Town, who was greatly surprised to see the crews in look so healthy, as a Dutch ship which left Macao soon after their arrival there had reported that the two ships were in a deplorable condition, there being only fourteen men left on board the *Resolution* and seven on the *Discovery* fit for duty. King expresses himself at a loss to understand the object of "so wanton and malicious a falsehood."

On 14th April a state visit was paid to Governor Plattenberg, who received them most cordially, and evinced the deepest regret to hear the account of Captain Cook's death, for whom he had a strong admiration. He showed them two portraits on his walls, De Ruyter and Tromp, with a space between which he said he kept for a portrait of Captain Cook, and requested that one should be obtained for him in England.

As the picture by Webber in the National Portrait Gallery is said to have been painted at the Cape, it may perhaps have been intended for that vacant space, but no trace has been found of any picture being sent out.

On 9th May the ships sailed from Simon's Bay with a good supply of fresh stores, and with healthy crews, they picked up the south-east trades on the 14th, and on 13th June crossed the line in longitude 26° 16′ W. The coast of Ireland was sighted on 12th August, and an attempt was made to get into Galway Bay, but strong southerly winds drove them to the north, and at length, rounding the north of Scotland, they put into Stromness, whence Captain King was despatched overland with letters to the Admiralty. The ships, sailing down the east coast, arrived off the Nore on 4th October, after an absence of "four years, two months, and twenty-two days."

On 14th February 1781, Captain King, accompanied by Mr Banks, was presented to His Majesty, who received him most graciously, and accepted the Journals of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* that had been kept during this eventful voyage.

The knife with which Captain Cook was killed was said by a man named Joseph Watson of Ugglebarnby near Whitby to have been brought home by his half-brother, Leonard Watson, who was some forty years older than himself, and had been a sailor with the expedition. It seems improbable that the weapon could have fallen into the hands of any of either of the crews, and amongst them the name of Leonard Watson is not to be found, therefore the story may be dismissed.

CHAPTER XIX

APPRECIATIONS—MRS COOK

NOTHING had been heard of the expedition for some time, and that some of the public were getting anxious, is to be seen from the paragraphs that appeared occasionally in the newspapers. The *Public Advertiser* of 5th November 1779 says:

"The public have been kind enough to express some apprehensions concerning Captain Cook. The ground of those apprehensions is as follows. Captain Cook was to have wintered at Canton. Two ships which are arrived from thence, left that place, one a little before the other a week after Christmas. At their departure Captain Cook was not arrived there: but as he could not possibly be at the above mentioned port before Christmas, and as he must depend on the winds, it might be a month after; from these considerations there is yet good room for hope that this able Navigator is still safe."

Five days afterwards the same paper says:

"Captain Cooke has not been heard from by his Relations. Therefore all Accounts of him most probably have been founded on Conjecture. Proper methods have been taken to convey the earliest Information to him of the distinguished Mark of Favour shown him by the King of France, in order that he may pursue his Voyage home without Apprehension of Molestation."

Is it possible that some rumours of misfortune to the expedition had by this time reached England, or were

these paragraphs merely the result of a natural anxiety, rising out of the length of time which had elapsed without news? However that may be, the blow soon fell, for on 11th January 1780 the *London Gazette* contained the following:

"Captain Clerke of His Majesty's Sloop the *Resolution*, in a letter to Mr Stephens, dated the 8th of June 1779, in the Harbour of St Peter and St Paul, Kampschatka, which was received yesterday, gives the melancholy account of the celebrated Captain Cook, late Commander of that Sloop, with four of his private Marines having been killed on the 14th of February last at the island of O'Why'he, one of a Group of new discovered Islands in the 22nd Degree of North Latitude, in an affray with a numerous and tumultuous Body of the Natives."

"Captain Clerke adds, that he received every friendly supply from the Russian Government; and that as the Companies of the *Resolution* and her Consort, the *Discovery*, were in perfect Health, and the two Sloops had twelve months Stores and Provisions on board, he was preparing to make another Attempt to explore a Northern Passage to Europe."

Another paragraph in the same paper says:

"It is with the utmost concern we inform the Public, that the celebrated Circumnavigator Captain Cook, and four of his People, were killed by the Inhabitants of a new discovered Island in the South Seas, in 22 N. L. and 200 E. L. from Greenwich. The Captain and Crew were first treated as Deities, but upon their revisiting that Island, some proved inimical. Hostilities ensued and the above melancholy Scene was the Consequence. This Account is come from Kamschatka by Letters from Captain Clerke and others. But the Crews of the Ships were in a very good State of Health, and all in the most desirable Condition. This untimely and ever to be lamented Fate of so intrepid, so able, and so intelligent a Sea-Officer, may justly be considered as an irreparable Loss to the Public, as well as to his Family, for in him

were united every useful and amiable quality that could adorn his Profession; nor was his singular Modesty less conspicuous than his other Virtues. His successful Experiments to preserve the Healths of his Crews are well known, and his Discoveries will be an everlasting Honour to his Country."

The *London Gazette* of 8th February says:

"The Empress of Russia expressed a most deep Concern at the Loss of Captain Cook. She was the the more sensibly affected from her very partial regard to his merits; and when she was informed of the Hospitality shewn by the Russian Government at Kamschatka to Captain Clerke, she said no subjects in her Dominions could show too much Friendship for the Survivors of Captain Cook."

Again, the same paper: "The Account of the melancholy Loss of Captain Cook came express through Petersburgh from Kamskatka." That is to say the letters written by Captain Clerke towards the end of June at the extreme East of Asia, were sent across the Continent to Petersburg, and thence, *viâ* Berlin, to London in six months. A very short time if the difficulties of transit that must necessarily have been encountered are taken into consideration.

The *Morning Chronicle* of 17th January strikes a jarring note in the chorus of regret and appreciation, by the hand of a correspondent, who, whilst admitting that Cook was a great man, yet hints that the natives considered him as a pirate, and that it was a wonder he had not been killed long before. The chief thing that appears to have struck him is the rapidity with which the letter containing the news was received, and "as safely as if it had been put into a penny-post-office in the parish of St Paul's, Covent Garden. This is civilization." He also suggests that Dr Johnson should be asked to write the account of the voyage, remarking

"It is strange that Dr J. was overpassed before. Great adventures should be recorded by great men."

The following day the *Chronicle* contained the following reply:

"Our correspondent in yesterday's paper is desired to say on which of Capt. Cook's actions he founds his assertion that 'had we been born in an island in the South Seas, we should perhaps have called him a pirate.' This explanation is the more necessary as the whole of the reflections, as they are called, on Capt. Cook, etc., seem introduced for no other purpose but to convey this insinuation. No person who is capable of reflection ever thought it a remarkable circumstance that he should be killed, but that he should so often have escaped. The writer of this had frequently heard Capt. Cook himself make this reflection, but he did not think it a jot the less his duty to land and learn what he could of the manners of the people, and the produce of the places he visited because he ran some risk in doing it."

On 22nd January the *Morning Chronicle* publishes a longer letter which seems to have been written by one who had been a witness of his methods of procedure, who claims to have been a personal friend, and, from one or two turns of expression, may possibly have been Sir Joseph Banks. It is here produced *in extenso*.

"SIR,—Having cast my eye over an article in your paper of the 17th instant beginning with the words 'Poor Captain Cook!' the veneration I have for the memory of my deceased friend makes me immediately put pen to paper, to express my concern that any one should talk unfeelingly of that great man, whom I consider as one of the most meritorious characters that this nation has produced; for it may be truly said that his talents as a seaman and discoverer were superior to everything that went before him, and his private virtues, at least, equal to his professional qualifications.

"To rescue him, therefore, from the animadversions

of those, who (if men of sense) can only speak slightly of him from not knowing his character, I must beg leave to trouble you with some information relative to the endowments of this most valuable person, which, from long knowledge of, and intercourse with him, I may venture to term authentic and not misrepresented.

"I desire to call to your memory that, beside the merit of having by a series of public services raised himself to a situation eminently above his most sanguine expectations, his genius broke forth, and enabled him to emerge from obscurity, by giving proofs of the most shining capacity in every qualification that could be required in a discoverer of unknown countries.

"Taught by his early education to sail always near the shore, and by frequent practice deeply versed in all the manœuvres necessary to preserve ships from the dangers to which the vicinity of land exposes them, he was never afraid of approaching an unknown coast, and would for weeks and months together persevere to sail amongst sands and shoals, the very appearance of which would have been thought by most seamen a sufficient reason for leaving them; which fact, by comparing the accounts of his voyages with those of some other late discoverers, will be truly verified. He trusted in the most cases to the lead, but in some, sent boats to sound ahead of his ship.

"His paternal courage was undaunted.

"His patience and perseverance not to be fatigued.

"His knowledge in the art of practical surveying inferior to no man's.

"His skill in mathematics and astronomy was compleat, as far as those sciences are necessary to a seaman.

"His great attention to the cleanliness of his people, and other minutiæ of discipline (nothing of which he trusted to any one but himself) were the great causes of that wonderful health which his ship's company always enjoyed.

"The humanity with which he treated the natives of all places, where he had occasion to touch, had carried him safe through a variety of nations, among whom were many different tribes of warlike and barbarous people; but his attention to the safety of those under his command, and his fixed resolution that no one should incur more danger than himself, made

it his constant measure never to trust any man ashore without him in an unknown country, till a good understanding with the natives had taken place: but, alas! it is to this humane and laudable disposition that the loss of his life is most probably to be attributed, as he seems to have fallen a sacrifice to his having put himself foremost in attempting to procure redress for the insults his companions had received from the Indians, and to his having placed too much confidence in the return of benevolence which uncivilized people so generally make to those who treat them like fellow-creatures, and which he so frequently experienced.

"His diligence and application were beyond example; for by that alone, even amidst his various occupations, he so far supplied the want of education as to be able, on his return from his second voyage, to write a book, the very style of which was approved, I had almost said admired, by the publick.

"His economy was very uncommon, and made him personally attend with the strictest care to the expenditure of stores, by which means alone he was enabled to make his materials hold out in the long voyages which he made, without a possibility of supply.

"His manner of living was calculated not for his own comfort, but for what he thought would be most beneficial to the people under his care; for he eat constantly at his own table the usual food of the inhabitants of the country he was in, except when he was amongst the cannibals of New Zealand; which example he contrived to have followed by far the greater part of his crew, lengthening out by this means his European provisions which alone could be kept for any length of time.

"In short, if being a most able and distinguished character in the line of life he had taken and to the summit of which he had raised himself by his merits only, entitles him to the approbation of mankind in general, surely a tear is due to his untimely fate, when he was on the point of returning to his native country to enjoy the applause which would have been bestowed on him by every scientific man, and the comfort that awaited him in domestic life, and in an honourable retirement for the rest of his days.—I am, Sir, your very humble servant, COLUMBUS."

The *Gazetteer* of 24th January says:

"His Majesty, who had always the highest opinion of Captain Cook, shed tears when Lord Sandwich informed him of his death and immediately ordered a pension of £300 a year for his widow."

The amount granted to Mrs Cook really was £200 per annum. In addition to this, the Admiralty handed over to her half the proceeds of the "Journal of the Third Voyage," a share in the profits of the "Journal of the Second Voyage," and a share of the plates used in illustrating the two; an addition to her income of a considerable sum. A Coat of Arms was also granted to the family by order of the King, and Sir Walter Besant records his belief that it was the last one ever granted as a "recognition of service." He describes it as follows:

"Azure, between the two polar stars Or, a sphere on the plane of the meridian, shewing the Pacific Ocean, his track thereon marked by red lines. And for crest, on a wreath of the colours, is an arm bowed, in the uniform of a Captain of the Royal Navy. In the hand is the Union Jack on a staff proper. The arm is encircled by a wreath of palm and laurel. A very noble shield indeed."

The estimation in which Cook was held by the scientific world, not only of Britain and Europe, but also of the newly constituted United States of America, was marked by the letters of safe conduct issued on his behalf by the governments of France, Spain, and the United States before his death was known—letters such as had never before been issued for the benefit of any explorer. And it has since been more especially marked by the contributions of respect and admiration from men, who, following closely in his footsteps, have had the best opportunities of judging the true value of his work.

It has already been noted how M. de Crozet, on comparing Cook's charts of New Zealand with his own, recognised their superiority, and did not hesitate to adopt them as more correct. In 1836 M. Dumont d'Urville wrote:

"Le nom de Cook rappellera perpétuellement aux marins et aux géographes des nations civilisées, ce navigateur, le plus illustre des siècles passés et futurs. Nul ne rendit de si grands services à la navigation, et l'état actuel de nos connaissances ne permettrait pas à un homme même supérieur à Cook, d'arriver au même degré de célébrité. En lui la nature semblait avoir formé le veritable type du marin, et nul n'a honoré autant que lui ce métier pénible et plein de dégoûts et d'ennuis pour qui veut en remplir dignement tous les devoirs. Sous ce rapport, nous le répétons, Cook figura éternellement à la tête des navigateurs de tous les siècles et de toutes les nations."

The late Admiral Sir W. J. Wharton has stated that many of Cook's charts are even now the basis of those actually in use at the Admiralty, and of these there is much that has been found to require no alteration. This fact speaks highly for the accuracy of his work, and when consideration is given to the means at his disposal, which, though the best procurable at the time, were far below the standard of those obtainable at the present day, it points to an enormous amount of care in observing, checking, and calculating to ensure that accuracy.

The Royal Society was naturally amongst the first to recognise the worth of its late Fellow. It had granted already one of its highest honours to him for his successful contest with the scurvy, in the form of the Copley Gold Medal, and it now decided to mark its appreciation by striking a special gold medal in his honour. This was duly forwarded to Mrs Cook

by Sir Joseph Banks, the President, with the following letter.

"SOHO SQUARE,
"*12th August* 1784.

"MADAME—By the direction of the Council of the Royal Society, I request you to accept from them a Medal in Gold, struck in honour of your late husband Captain Cook, and in consideration of the many services he did to the cause of science.

"As his friend, I join to yours my sincere regret for the loss this nation has suffered in the death of so valuable a man, and that which the Royal Society feels in so useful a member; but while we lament his loss with a tear of real affliction, we must not forget that his well-spent life secures to us who survive him, that best consolation, the recollection that his name will live for ever in the remembrance of a people, grateful for the services his labours have afforded to mankind in general.

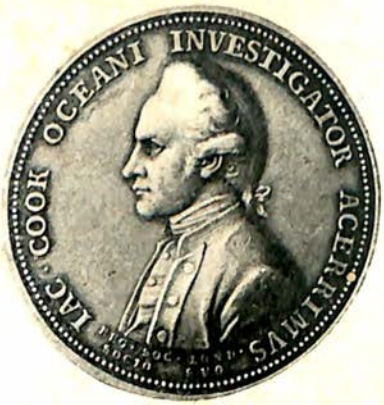
"Cease, then, Madame, to lament a man whose virtues have exacted a tribute of regret from a large portion of the natives of the earth, and let your best affections continue the task they have hitherto so well fulfilled in training up his son in the paths of virtue and honour, that under the influence of his Father's example, he will emulate at least, and perhaps attain as great a share of well-earned reputation as his Father left behind, to dry the tears of us who survive him. —I am, Madame, etc., JOSEPH BANKS."

To this Mrs Cook wrote in reply:

"MILE END,
"*16th August* 1784.

"Sir,—I received your exceeding kind letter of the 12th instant, and want words to express in any adequate degree my feelings on the very singular honour which you, sir, and the honourable and learned Society over which you so worthily preside, have been pleased to confer on my late husband, and through him on me and his children who are left to lament the loss of him, and

MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE DEPARTURE OF THE SECOND EXPEDITION UNDER COOK.



GOLD MEDAL IN HONOUR OF CAPTAIN COOK, STRUCK BY ORDER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

[*To face p* 499.

to be the receivers of those most noble marks of approbation, which, if Providence had been pleased to permit him to receive, would have rendered me very happy indeed.

"Be assured, sir, that however unequal I may be to the task of expressing it, I feel as I ought the high honour which the Royal Society has been pleased to do me. My greatest pleasure now remaining is in my sons, who, I hope, will ever strive to copy after so good an example, and, animated by the honours bestowed on their Father's memory, be ambitious of attaining by their own merits your notice and approbation. Let me entreat you to add to the many acts of friendship which I have already received at your hands, that of expressing my gratitude and thanks to that learned body in such a manner as may be acceptable to them.—I am, Sir, etc., etc., ELIZ. COOK."

It is greatly to be regretted that so little can be ascertained about Cook's private life that will be of assistance in forming an estimate of his character, but this is hardly to be wondered at, seeing that after he joined the Navy he had little time to devote to the formation of friendships outside his profession; and as for keeping up a correspondence with his relations and earlier acquaintances, that was a matter of great difficulty from want of opportunities, and also a question of very considerable expense. It is known that he wrote several letters to Mr Walker of Whitby, most of which have, unfortunately, been destroyed without leaving behind any record of their contents, but, judging from what are left, they probably consisted chiefly of the mention of events in which he took a part, but with little information as to what that part was. His letters to his wife, probably not a very large number, were most likely, as Canon Bennett suggests, destroyed by her during her life, because she held them too sacred to be seen by any other eye than her own; none were found after her death.

There are also his letters to the Admiralty, confined to professional matters, and the letters relating to the publication of his Voyages. In addition, there are a few references to him by men of position in the scientific world, with whom he had come in contact after he had made his reputation as an explorer; but even these are few, and scanty in detail, and for so distinguished a man, there is a most curious dearth of personal anecdote, even from those who were in close companionship with him on his voyages.

Of the remaining materials, the chief are a short sketch of his life by Captain King, which, unfortunately, shows the editing hand of Dr Douglas, and is also, more unfortunately, inaccurate in several of his statements as to Cook's earlier career in the Navy. For instance, he credits Sir Hugh Palliser with Cook's first promotion on the *Eagle*, but it has been shown by the Public Records that it took place before Palliser had command of that ship. He says that Cook "conducted the embarkation to the Heights of Abraham." If this means, as it has been construed by more than one writer (one even places him within hearing of the recitation by Wolfe of Gray's *Elegy*), the actual landing of the troops, it is untrue, as the log of the *Pembroke* proves that he was employed elsewhere; but it is highly probable that he would be employed in superintending the boats of his own ship when engaged in transferring troops to Point Levi a few days previous to the battle. Captain King also places Cook as Master on board the *Northumberland* about two years before he attained that position. Still, these errors do not detract from the value of his opinions of the character of Cook, of whom he evidently thought very highly.

King says that Cook

"appears to have been most eminently and peculiarly qualified for this species of enterprise (discovery). The

earliest habits of his life, the course of his services, and the constant application of his mind, all conspired to fit him for it, and gave him a degree of professional knowledge which can fall to the lot of very few. The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. His stomach bore, without difficulty, the coarsest and most ungrateful food. Indeed, temperance in him was scarcely a virtue; so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy, vigorous kind with those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicacious; his judgment, in whatever related to the services he was engaged in, quick and sure. His designs were bold and manly, and both in conception, and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a great original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected. His temper might perhaps have been justly blamed as subject to hastiness and passion, had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane.

"Such were the outlines of Captain Cook's character; but its most distinguishing feature was that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was not only superior to the opposition of dangers, and the pressure of hardships, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptation could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation, which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing that persons who have experienced the fatigues of service will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs." . . . "With respect to his professional abilities, I shall leave them to the judgment of those who are best acquainted with the nature of the services in which he was engaged. They will readily acknowledge, that to have conducted three expeditions of so much danger and difficulty, of

so unusual a length, and in such a variety of situation, with uniform and invariable success, must have required not only a thorough and accurate knowledge of his business, but a powerful and comprehensive genius, fruitful in resources, and equally ready in the application of whatever the higher and inferior calls of the service required."

A second and most valuable appreciation of Cook is that written by Mr Samwell, Surgeon's Mate on the *Resolution* till the death of Mr Anderson, when he was promoted to Surgeon of the *Discovery* in place of Mr Law, appointed to the former ship. He says:

"Nature had endowed him with a mind vigorous and comprehensive, which in his riper years he had cultivated with care and industry. His general knowledge was extensive and various; in that of his own profession he was unequalled. With a clear judgment, strong masculine sense, and the most determined resolution; with a genius peculiarly turned for enterprise, he pursued his object with unshaken perseverance:—vigilant and active in an eminent degree: cool and intrepid among dangers: patient and firm under difficulties and distress: fertile in expedients: great and original in all his designs, active and resolved in carrying them into execution. These qualities rendered him the animating spirit of the expedition: in every situation he stood unrivalled and alone: on him all eyes were turned: he was our leading star, which at its setting left us involved in darkness and despair. His constitution was strong, his mode of living temperate: why Captain King should not suppose temperance as great a virtue in him as in any other man I am unable to guess. He had no repugnance to good living; he always kept a good table, though he could bear the reverse without murmuring. He was a modest man, and rather bashful; of an agreeable lively conversation, sensible and intelligent. In his temper he was somewhat hasty, but of a disposition the most friendly, benevolent and humane. His person was above six feet high, and though a good-looking man, he was plain both in

address and appearance. His head was small; his hair, which was dark brown, he wore tied behind. His face was full of expression, his nose exceedingly well shaped, his eyes, which were small and of a brown cast, were quick and piercing: his eyebrows prominent, which gave his countenance altogether an air of austerity. He was beloved by his people, who looked up to him as a father, and obeyed his commands with alacrity. The confidence we placed in him was unremitting: our admiration of his great talents unbounded: our esteem for his good qualities affectionate and sincere.

"In exploring unknown countries, the dangers he had to encounter were various and uncommon. On such occasions he always displayed great presence of mind, and steady perseverence in pursuit of his object. The acquisition he has made to our knowledge of the globe is immense, besides improving the art of navigation and enriching the science of natural philosophy.

"He was remarkably distinguished for the activity of his mind: it was that which enabled him to pay an unwearied attention to every object of the service. The strict economy he observed in the expenditure of the ships' stores, and the unremitting care he employed for the preservation of the health of his people, were the causes that enabled him to prosecute discoveries in remote parts of the globe for such a length of time as had been deemed impracticable by former navigators. The method he discovered of preserving the health of seamen in long voyages will transmit his name to posterity as the friend and benefactor of mankind; the success which attended it afforded this truly great man more satisfaction than the distinguished fame that attended his discoveries."

Captain King and Mr Samwell both speak of Cook's hasty temper, and they have been followed, naturally, by the biographers. It is most probable that there is foundation for the accusation, but the chief occasion on which that hasty temper was shown and brought forward to prove the assertion, is the unfortunate case of the native whose ears were cut off for threatening the life of Omiah and for theft, and occurred when

Cook was very seriously ill. On the other hand, the recorded punishments during the whole of the three voyages were not only very few in number, but also much less severe than those to be found in the logs of the men-of-war of that period, when the lash was almost the only recognised penalty for all offences, however small. Three dozen lashes appears to have been the highest number awarded at a time, when hundreds were often allotted to the unfortunate offenders against discipline. At the same time, it may be gathered from the Journals of his voyages that he was well aware of his shortness of temper, for he does not hesitate to express his regret when he has to register the occurrence of any untoward events in his dealings with the natives of the various islands at which he touched.

That Mr Samwell is right in his view of Cook's temperance is evident from the Journals, in which Cook often shows his appreciation of the good things of this life, and his abstemiousness and unconcern as to the living on board his ships was undoubtedly prominently displayed for the sake of influencing the crews to their own benefit, and he looked upon it as a duty he owed to the service to enable him to carry out the designs of his superiors. He expressly states that he relied on example more than orders in carrying out his theories on the preservation of the health of his people, and he shows how strongly he felt any signs of ingratitude in return for his constant care and thought for their interests; and he had early recognised that these interests of health and well-being were only to be preserved by his insistence on those small points, hitherto considered too trivial, being most carefully watched so that the dreaded scurvy should not gain a footing on his ships.

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, speaking of his death, remarks: "His character was calculated to command love and respect, being equally brave, modest, and

intelligent in his profession." That it commanded the respect and confidence of his superiors is shown by the almost unquestioned manner in which his demands for the supplies of his ships were met, by the evident care taken in the selection of his officers, and by the quality of his juniors who accompanied him to qualify for commissions in the Navy, several of whom in after years greatly distinguished themselves in the service of their country. That he commanded the love and respect of his men is proved by the fact that several accompanied him through all three voyages, and several more through two, and by the ease with which he filled up his complement when it was announced he was to hoist his pennant: he had on both the last voyages to turn over to other ships men who were in excess of his number. It is also proved by the testimony of those who have left any records of his second and third voyages, in which they remark on the depression that was felt on board when it became known that the captain was seriously, perhaps dangerously, ill. Mr Forster is particularly emphatic on the point, and Marra, the gunner's mate, whose Journal was published by Newbery, relates how the different fluctuations of his illness could be read from the faces of the crew, and when he was seen on deck once more he notes: "The Captain perfectly recovered from his illness, to the great joy of the ship's company."

There is no record that Cook had any great interest in subjects that were not closely connected with his profession, and Samwell's remark that "his general knowledge was extensive and various," must be taken in that light; but it does not detract from the marvellous capacity of the man for acquiring knowledge under what must have been often very disadvantageous conditions, when it is taken into consideration that the number of different subjects, with which he must have been fairly familiar in order to carry out the objects of his

expeditions, was large, and the opportunities for study owing to his continual professional occupation could have been but small.

There are other records, besides those of King and Samwell, which, though, unfortunately, but scanty, corroborate the impression that he was rather inclined to be silent and retiring, but when he spoke, he spoke well and with understanding. In documents like the Journals of his Voyages, in which he carefully endeavours to confine himself to a plain statement of facts, and the deductions he drew from them, there is not much scope to judge of the man himself, but every now and then there peeps out a spirit of fun, and on several occasions the signs of the kindly and generous heart with which he was most certainly endowed.

His married life, as has before been pointed out, was a strange one. United for sixteen years to his wife, he only enjoyed her society for short periods at a time, which, added together, amounted to about four years, and even then he was always strenuously engaged either in perfecting his charts, surveys, and journals for the Admiralty, preparing them for the press, or urging on, and personally superintending, the preparations for fresh expeditions. When at last he might have looked forward to spending the evening of his life in the full enjoyment of his home, surrounded by his wife, family, and friends, and reaping the benefit of the additional well-deserved honours that assuredly would have been dealt out to him with no niggard hand, he was struck down by a cruel fate, and left his bones beneath those waters he had done so much to reveal to the world at large.

Mrs Cook was not permitted to see her desire fulfilled that her children should follow in their father's footsteps, for of their six children, one died in 1768 at the age of one month; their only daughter, Elizabeth, in 1771, aged four years; a second son died in 1772, aged

four months. Of the three remaining sons, Nathaniel, an officer on board H.M.S. *Thunderer*, perished when that ship was lost in a hurricane off the coast of Jamaica in October 1780, at the age of sixteen, and before the year was out the news had reached his mother, who was still in ignorance of the fact that she was also a widow. The youngest son, Hugh, named after Sir Hugh Palliser, was born in 1776, remained at home with Mrs Cook, and was entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1793, but after being in residence for two months, he contracted scarlet fever, and died on 21st December of that year. The eldest son, James, was educated at the Royal Academy at Portsmouth under a letter dated 1st October 1774, to which Mr Phillips, who signed the letter in the absence of the Secretaries, adds the following post-script:

"I am to observe that this young gentleman, being the son of Captn. Cook, is proposed to be admitted in consequence of the plan lately established by his Majesty in Council."

It is addressed to James Gambier, Esq., Portsmouth. Young Cook joined the Navy and rose to the rank of Commander in 1793, and early in January of the following year was appointed to H.M. Sloop *Spitfire*, which was then at Portsmouth. He was at Poole when he received orders to join his ship without delay, and finding that an open boat was about to start for Portsmouth with sailors returning from leave, he accompanied them. It was blowing rather hard when they got outside, and nothing was ever heard again of any of the crew or passengers, excepting that the broken boat and the dead body of the unfortunate young officer, stripped of all money and valuables, with a wound in the head, were found ashore on the Isle of Wight. The body was taken to Cambridge

and interred in the Church of St Andrew the Great, where his brother Hugh had been laid to rest but a few weeks before. Truly a sad family history.

Mrs Cook survived her husband for fifty-six years, and her eldest son for forty-one. She died at the age of ninety-three at Clapham, where she and her cousin, Admiral Isaac Smith, had resided for some years, and was buried with her children at Cambridge. Canon Bennett, who remembered her well, described her to Besant as

"a handsome, venerable lady, her white hair rolled back in ancient fashion, always dressed in black satin; with an oval face, an aquiline nose, and a good mouth. She wore a ring with her husband's hair in it; and she entertained the highest respect for his memory, measuring everything by his standard of honour and morality. Her keenest expression of disapprobation was that 'Mr Cook'—to her he was always Mr Cook, not Captain—'would never have done so.' Like many widows of sailors, she could never sleep in high wind for thinking of the men at sea, and she kept four days in the year of solemn fasting, during which she came not out of her own room: they were the days of her bereavements: the days when she had lost her husband and her three boys. She passed those days in prayer and meditation with her husband's Bible; and for her husband's sake she befriended the nephews and grand-nephews and nieces and grand-nieces of his whom she never saw; they were not suffered to want."

She kept her faculties to the end, and with her pension, her sons' fortune, and her share of the profits of the publications, she became a moderately wealthy woman and was able to live in comfort and entertain her friends: she had a dinner party every Thursday at three o'clock. The house was filled with curiosities, drawings, and maps brought home from the different voyages. After her death some of these relics of her husband's services were presented to the British Museum, whilst

others have been secured by the Government of New South Wales, and are now in the Museum at Sydney.

Some few memorials have been erected to Captain Cook, chiefly by private effort. There are two or three in the immediate neighbourhood of his birthplace; two in Sydney, one of which is by Thomas Woolner, R.A.; one recently erected at Poverty Bay, New Zealand; one at Cooktown in Queensland, near the spot where the *Endeavour* was beached for repairs. These few make the sum total, and it seems strange that this great discoverer, and perhaps the greatest benefactor that the maritime services of all nations ever had, has been so neglected, whilst lesser men whose lives have not been so useful to mankind, have been remembered.

APPENDIX

OFFICERS AND MEN OF H.M.S. *ENDEAVOUR*

Lieutenant-Commander—James Cook.

Second Lieutenant—Zack. Hicks.[1] *Third Lieutenant*—John Gore.

Master — R. Molineaux.[2] *Gunner* — Stephen Forwood (Gunner *Surprise*). *Boatswain*—John Gathery.[2]

Surgeon—W. B. Monkhouse.[2] *Carpenter*—Jas. Satterly.[2] *Master's Mates*—Chas. Clerke, afterwards *Lieutenant.* R. Pickersgill, afterwards *Master.* F. Wilkinson. *Midshipmen*—Jas. Bootie,[2] Wm. Harvey, Jas. Magra, Isaac Manley, J. Monkhouse,[2] Pat. Saunders, Isaac Smith. *Sailmaker*—Thos. Ravenhill.[2]

Clerk—R. Orton (Purser *Levant*). *Armourer*—R. Taylor. *Cook*—Jas. Thompson.[2] *Gunner's Mate*—D. Roberts.

Carpenter's Mates—R. Hughes, Wm. Jordan.[2] *Boatswain's Mates*—Thos. Hardiman, afterwards *Sailmaker.* E. Hutchings, Isaac Parker, Jno. Reading.[3] *Surgeon's Mate*—Wm. Perry, afterwards *Surgeon. Quarter-masters*—Sam Evans, afterwards *Boatswain's Mate* (Boatswain *Stromboli*), Alec. Weir.[4] *Cook's Mate*—Thos. Matthews.

Able Seamen—Robt. Anderson, afterwards *Quarter-master.* Jas. Charlton, Jas. Childs, afterwards *Cook.* Wm. Collett, Jas. Cook [2], Natl. Cook, M. Cox, Ed. Dawson, Jas. Dozey,[2] Peter Flower,[4] Jas. Goodjohn, Jas. Gray, afterwards *Quarter-master.* Fras. Haite,[2] Wm. Howson,[2] H. Jeffs,[2] Isaac Johnson, Saml. Jones, Thos. Jones [1], Thos. Jordan, Thos. Knight, M.

[1] Died of Consumption.
[2] Died of fever and dysentery.
[3] Died, alcoholic poison.
[4] Drowned.
[5] Died, fit.
[6] Frozen.

Littleboy, R. Littleboy, S. Moody, Natl. Morey, Jas. Nicholson,[2] G. Nowell, afterwards *Carpenter*, *Scorpion*. W. Peckover, Ant. Ponto, Jno. Ramsay, Tim. Rearden,[2] Thos. Simmonds, Alec. Simpson,[2] R. Stainsby, H. F. Stevens, Forbes Sutherland,[1] Ed. Terrill, Jas. Thurmand,[2] Jas. Tunley, Chas. Williams, M. Wolfe, Jno. Woodworth,[2] Nichs. Young, Mr Perry's servant, afterwards *A.B.* Thos. Jones [2], Mr Monkhouse's servant.

A.B. — entered at Rio, E. Pereira.[2] *A.B.s — entered at Batavia*, D. Baptista, Jas. Brewer, Wm. Burn, Jas. Campbell, Thos. Goldsmith, R. Hill, Jas. Joyce, Jno. Legge, Alec. Lindsay,[2] Jas. Marra, P. Morgan,[2] Wm. Moulton, P. Nichols, Chas. Provall, Jno. Smith, Saml. Smith, Jno. Torrance,[2] R. Thomas.[2] *Entered at Cape of Good Hope*, Claus. Fick, Turkhill Hansen, Canute Olafsen, Thos. Roberts, Chris. Stalbourne, Ant van Sake.

Marines — Sergeant — Jno. Edgecombe. *Corporal* — Jas. Truslove.[2] *Privates*—Saml. Gibson, afterwards *Corporal*. Jno. Bowles, Thos. Dunster,[2] Wm. Greenslade,[4] W. Judge, H. T. Paul, D. Peterson,[2] Alec. Webb, Wm. Wilshire. *Drummer*—Thos. Rossiter.

Supernumeraries.—Astronomer—Chas. Green,[2] Joseph Banks, Chas. Solander, H. Sporing, S. Parkinson,[2] Jno. Reynolds,[2] A. Buchan,[5] Jas. Roberts, P. Briscoe. G. Dorlton,[6] and Thos. Richmond,[6] coloured servants to Mr Banks.

N.B.—Not one death from scurvy; only five cases on the sick-list throughout the voyage.

The words in brackets relate to subsequent appointments, etc.

[1] Died of Consumption. [2] Died of fever and dysentery.
[4] Drowned. [5] Died, fit. [6] Frozen.

OFFICERS AND MEN OF H.M.S. *RESOLUTION*. COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE

Captain—James Cook.

Lieutenants — R. P. Cooper (Commander *Hawke*), Chas. Clerke, Rd. Pickersgill (Commander *Lyon*, dismissed ship).

Master — Joseph Gilbert (Lieutenant retired). *Gunner*—Robt. Anderson. *Carpenter*—Jas. Wallis (*Firm*).

Surgeon — W. Patten. *Boatswain* — Jas. Gray (*Essex*). *Armourer*—Mat. Brown. *Master's Mates*—J. D. Barr, Thos. Whitehouse, A. Hood (Captain *Mars*, killed 1798), Isaac Smith, (Admiral retired).

Midshipmen—Jas. Colnett, Wm. Harvey, Bowles Mitchell, Josh. Price, Hy. Roberts, Thos. Willis, Isaac Manley.

Gunner's Mates — Wm. Peckover, Jas. Marra. *Clerk* — Wm. Dawson. *Carpenter's Mates*—Wm. Bevan, Robt. Goulding, G. Jackson, Jno. Seamer, Hy. Smock. *Boatswain's Mates*—D. Anderson, Wm. Ewin, Sol. Reading. *Surgeon's Mates*—W. Anderson, B. Drawater. *Armourer's Mate*—Wm. Drew.

Sailmaker — R. Rollitt. *Master-at-Arms* — Danl. Clark. *Cook*—Jno. Ramsay. *Quarter-masters*—Ant. Atkins, Wm. Bell, Sam. Bordall, Jno. Elwell, Jno. Stockton, Pat. Wheilan. *Ship's Corporal*—Jno. Frazier.

Cook's Mates—Ed. Barrett, Peter Reynolds.

Able Seamen—Wm. Atkinson, Jno. Bernard, Jno. Blackburn, Wm. Briscoe, Jas. Cave, Jno. Coghlan, Rd. Collett, Wm. Collett, Thos. Connell, R. Corbett, Jas. Davies, Ed. Dawson, Jas. Day, Thos. Driver, Jno. Elliott, Thos. Fenton, M. Flinn, S. Freesland, R. Grindall, Jno. Harrison, Jno. Hayes, And. Horn, Jno. Innel, Jno. Kipplin, R. Lee, Jno. Lerwick, Chris. Logie, Jno. Marchant, Jas. Maxwell, Jno. Mills, S. Munk, Wm. Nash, Jas. Onwin, Thos. Perry, Sam. Peterson, Jno. Pierce, Fras. Scarnell, Thos. Shaw, Jas. Simms, Jno. Smally, Thos. Snowden, Ed. Terrill, G. Vancouver, Wm. Whatman, Stephen White, Thos. White, Chas. Williams, Jno. Wybrow, Jas. Burney, afterwards *Lieutenant Adventure*, W. Chapman, afterwards *Cook Adventure*, Wm. Lanyon, afterwards *Midshipman Adventure*.

Marines—Lieutenant—Jno. Edgecombe (Captain). *Sergeant*—Jno. Hamilton. *Corporals*—Robt. Beard, S. Gibson. *Privates*—R. Baldy, Jno. Buttall, Rd. Carpenter, Jno. Commance, Jno. Harper, A. M'Vicar, D. Monk, Jno. Phillips, Isaac Taylor, T. Taylor, Wm. Tow, Chas. Twitty, R. Waterfield, W. Widgeborough, G. Woodward. *Drummer*—P. Brotherton.

Supernumeraries—Naturalist—J. R. Forster. *Assistants*—G. A. Forster, Andreas Sparrman, Ernest Polent. *Astronomer*—W. Wales. *Servant* — G. Gilpin. *Artist* — Wm. Hodges. *Gardener sent by the King to the Cape of Good Hope*, Fras. Mason.

N.B.—Four deaths occurred; not one from scurvy.

OFFICERS AND MEN OF H.M.S. *ADVENTURE*

Captain—Tobias Furneaux (commanded *Syren* at New Orleans).

Lieutenants — J. Shank, invalided, Cape. A. Kempe, (Commander *Wolf.*)

Master—P. Fanning. *Gunner*—A. Gloag. *Boatswain*—Ed. Johns. *Surgeon*—Thos. Andrews.

Carpenter—Wm. Offord. *Master's Mate*—J. R. Falconer, Wm. Hawkey, Jno. Rowe.[1]

Midshipmen — L. Constable, R. Hergest, S. Kempe,[2] J. Lambrecht,[2] D. Lightfoot, G. Mooney, T. Woodhouse.[1] *Sail-maker*—A. Hill. *Clerke*—A. Dewar. *Armourer*—Jas. Jamieson.

Gunner's Mates—Wm. Sanderson, Fras. Upton. *Boatswain's Mates*—Jno. Haley, Jas. Gibbs. *Cook*—M. Mahoney.[3]

Carpenter's Mates—Wm. Crispin, Jno. Fagan, Dd. Lewis, Wm. Medbury, Nat. Willard. *Surgeon's Mates*—J. Kent, J. Young. *Master-at-Arms* — Wm. Carr. *Sailmaker's Mate* — Wm. Roberts. *Quarter-masters* — Robt. Barber, W. Jonsey, R. Moody, Fras. Murphy,[1] Fras. Spencer, Jas. Upton.

Able Seamen—N. Arrowsmith, Micl. Bell,[1] Ant. Brazil, R. Brown, Thos. Carlo, Jas. Cavan, Jas. Cavanagh,[1] Jno. Croman,

[1] Killed in New Zealand. [2] Died of fever. [3] Died of scurvy.

Thos. Dyke, afterwards *Master's Mate.* Wm. Facey,[1] Jno. Finlay, Jno. Fish, Thos. Fitzgerald, Thos. Freeman, W. H. Gibbons. R. Harrison, Ed. Hart, Thos. Hill,[1] Jas. Jones,[1] Jno. Longford, Boyd M'Alister, Wm. Milton,[1] R. Molloy, Hy. Pryor, Jas. Rayside, Tobias Swilley,[1] Wm. Thomas, Rt. Weaver, Jno. Welby, Hy. Wight.

Marines — *Second Lieutenant* — Jas. Scott. *Sergeant* — Jno. Molineaux. *Corporal* — Alex. Mills. *Privates* — Wm. Alden, W. Kearney, Dan. Lear, Rd. Reid, Alex. Ross, Donald Stewart, Bernd. Tannenfried, Jno. Thomas. *Drummer*—J. Lane.

From *Resolution*—*Lieutenant* Jas. Burney. *Midshipman*—W. Lanyon. *Cook*—W. Chapman.

N.B.—Thirteen deaths; one from scurvy.

OFFICERS AND MEN OF H.M.S. *RESOLUTION.* COOK'S THIRD VOYAGE

Captain—James Cook.

Lieutenants—John Gore (Captain, Greenwich Hospital), Jas. King (Captain, died 1784), Jno. Williamson (Captain at Camperdown, dismissed his ship for negligence). *Master* —Wm. Bligh (Commander *Bounty*; Governor New South Wales, deposed; Admiral). *Boatswain*—Wm. Ewin. *Gunner*— Robt. Anderson. *Carpenter*—Jas. Clevely.

Surgeon—Wm. Anderson. *Clerke*—Alexr. Dewar. *Armourer* —Wm. Hunt. *Cook*—Robt. Morris. *Sailmaker*—W. Weddale.

Master's Mates—Wm. Hervey, Wm. Lanyon, Hy. Roberts. *Master-at-Arms*—Wm. Collett.

Midshipmen—Wm. Charlton, R. Hergest, Robt. Mackie, W. Plaisted, D. Shuttleworth, Jas. Trevanion (entered Russian service, killed in action against Swedes), Jno. Watts. *Surgeon's Mates*—D. Samwell, R. Davies.

Carpenter's Mates—G. Barber, Rd. Irvine, A. M'Intosh, P. Mason, B. Whitton. *Armourer's Mate*—Thos. Price.

[1] Killed in New Zealand. [2] Died of fever. [3] Died of scurvy.

Boatswain's Mates—Wm. Doyle, Jas. James, Thos. Quinn. *Gunner's Mates*—Wm. Bradley, Wm. Brown.

Ship's Corporal—Wm. Griffiths. *Cook's Mate*—Rd. Young. *Sailmaker's Mate*—Wm. Mackrell.

Quarter-masters—Jno. Cave, Jno. Davis, Jas. Harding, Jas. Millet, Thos. Roberts, Pat. Wheilan.

Able Seamen—Mat. Beech, Jan Beeker, Peter Bennett, Sam. Bishop, Jno. Bostick, Jas. Boyd, Jno. Brown, Thos. Butcher, Wm. Butter, Ed. Cawn, Job Clay, Jas. Conelly, Wm. Crotch, Mat. Daley, Jas. Dermott, Evan Evans, Jno. Fisher, Jno. Flatman, Jas. Grant, Jno. Hartley, Aug. Hetherton, Wm. Heideman, A. Hogg, Jas. King, Rd. Lee, B. Lyon, Jas. M'Lea, D. M'Kenzie, Wm. Nash, Mat. Pall, Jno. Ramsay, Thos. Rice, Wm. Salmon, Josh. Smith, Wm. Soby, Micl. Spencer, Wm. Spilsbury, Jno. Stanley, G. Stewart, Wm. Stirling, Wm. Taylor, Wm. Ward, Wm. Whatman.

Marines—Lieutenant—Molesworth Phillips (Lieut.-Col., friend of Chas. Lamb). *Sergeant* — Sam. Gibson. *Corporals* — Jas. Thomas, Jno. Ledyard (attempted to walk through Russia and Siberia to Kamtschatka, reached Yakutsk, but was turned back; died 1790). *Privates*—Jno. Allen, R. Brown, Ivan Carley, Thos. Fatchett, Thos. Girley, Thos. Harford, Jno. Harrison, Theophilus Hincks, Jno. Jackson, Jno. James, Jno. M'Donald, Jno. M'Leod, Thos. Morris, Jno. Perkins, Wm. Scrase. *Drummer*—Micl. Portsmouth.

Supernumeraries—Artist—Jas. Webber. Omai to Otaheite.

OFFICERS AND MEN OF H.M.S. *DISCOVERY*

Captain—Charles Clerke.

Lieutenants—Jas. Burney (Captain retired), Jno. Rickman. *Master*—Thos. Edgar.

Boatswain — Æneas Atkins. *Gunner*—Wm. Peckover. *Carpenter*—R. Reynolds. *Surgeon*—Thos. Law.

Master's Mates—Wm. Hollamby, N. Portlock, Alex. Hume, Wm. Shuttleworth. *Clerk*—G. Bentham.

Midshipmen — Hy. Forester, G. Gilbert (Lieutenant), Wm.

Harvey, J. H. Martin, A. Mouat, Ed. Riou (Captain of *Amazon*, killed at Copenhagen. Nelson said: "In poor dear Riou the Country has sustained an irreparable loss."), G. Vancouver (Captain, commanded expedition to Pacific; sailed round Vancouver Island). *Gunner's Mates* — Thos. Shaw, Simeon Woodruff. *Surgeon's Mates*—Wm. Ellis, Jas. Snagg.

Boatswain's Mates — Jno. Richardson, Jno. Gattenby. *Armourer*—G. Dixon. *Sailmaker*—Wm. Hilsey.

Carpenter's Mates—Wm. Walker, Wm. Williams, P. Wood, field, Jas. Mayley, Thos. Lalor, Wm. Evans. *Cook* — R. Goulding.

Master-at-Arms—R. Collett. *Quarter-masters*—Robt. Armstrong, Job Colman, Josh. Cox, Bart. Lowman, Jas. Loe, Wm. Stephens. *Coxswain*—H. Simmerman. *Sailmaker's Mate*—Dd. Markham.

Able Seamen—Ed. Bassett, Wm. Bates, Thos. Bean, Josh. Billings (Captain-Lieutenant, Russian Navy; explored Northern Siberia), Wm. Bloom, Jno. England, Jno. Fisher, Jas. Flood, Thos. Goodman, Wm. Goulston, Jno. Lett, Falke Lowe, Jno. M'Intosh, Rt. M'Kay, Jas. Marshall, D. Nelson, Wm. Passmore, Wm. Poulett, Thos. Sheath, Jno. Smallpiece, Jas. Tickle, Thos. Tritcher, Robt. Williams.

Marines—Sergeant—Jas. Kirk. *Corporals*—G. Harrison, Wm. Randall. *Privates*—Wm. Broom, Wm. Brown, Jno. Herriott, Chris. Kerwin, G. Moody, M. Newman, Wm. Parsloe, Jas. Poole, H. Thompson. *Drummer*—Jas. Holloway.

(From *Resolution*—Commanders Gore and King; Lieutenants Williamson and Lanyon; Surgeon Samwell.)

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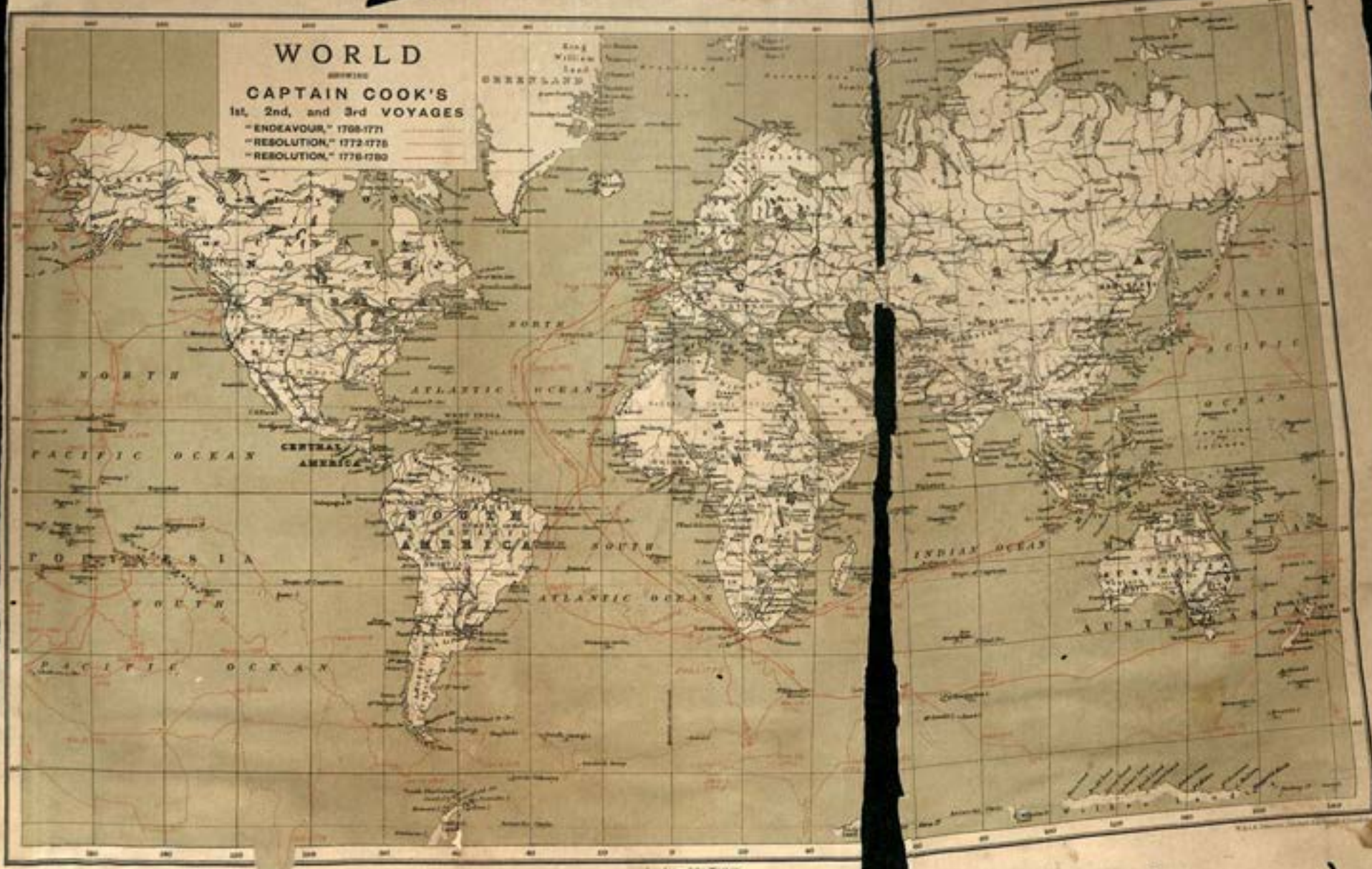
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